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BANAVASI THROUGH THE AGES

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY DHARWAD (INDIA)
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY**

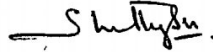


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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis entitled "BANAVASI THROUGH THE AGES" represents my original work carried out under the supervision of Dr.B.K.Gururaja Rao, Chairman, Department of Studies in Ancient History and Archaeology, Mysore University, Mysore and that it has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree to any University or research Institution.



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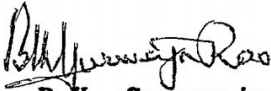


C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "BANAVASI THROUGH THE AGES", submitted by Shri S.R. Shetty, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy of the Karnatak University, Dharwad, represents his original work which was carried out by him under my guidance and supervision. The thesis or part thereof has not been previously submitted for any other Degree.

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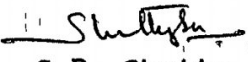
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Dharwad


S.R. Shetty

Date : 22.4.1983



ABBREVIATIONS

ARIE	: Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	: Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
BKI	: Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions
CII	: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CKI	: Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions
CPIAPGM	: Copper Plate Inscriptions in Andhra Pradesh Government Museum
EC	: Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	: Epigraphia Indica
IA	: Indian Antiquary
JESI	: Journal of Epigraphical Society of India
JIH	: Journal of Indian History
KI	: Karnatak Inscriptions
KRIPR	: Kannada Research Institute, Progress Report
KRISI	: Kannada Research Institute, Summaries of Inscriptions
QJMS	: Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
SIE	: Studies in Indian Epigraphy
SII	: South Indian Inscriptions

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION



C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Right from the time of the rise of Nandas in Magadha, Deccan has played an important role in the changing face of the history of peninsular India. It was the region which lay between the far south and Uttarāpatha and as such the part that it played is not surprising. It played the role of an intermediary in the cultural transmission of the life and times of the people of the land from beyond the Narmadā to the South. Hence, here one sees an admixture of the Draviḍian and the Āryan elements at its best. The impact of the rise of the first empire on the soil of India was of great consequence for the history of India. This had a background of what is usually called the "second urbanisation". The rise of the merchant community and its patronage to the new-born religions like Buddhism and Jainism, coupled with the rise of international trade and a well established network of trade routes throughout the length and breadth of the empire, facilitated the birth of newer and newer cities. One such city which merited the attention of even a great monarch like Aśoka Maurya was Banavāsī.

Banavāsī (14°32' N 75°1' E) to-day is a small town in the Śirsi Taluk of Uttara Kannaḍa District of

Karnāṭaka, and until recently it had the looks of a place no better than any other village of Karnāṭaka. But we ought to remember that most other places which had the benefit of being the capital of one dynasty or the other of Karnāṭaka, have suffered in the course of history a fate similar to that of Banavāsī. Yet Banavāsī has enjoyed the status of a capital for a longer period than any other capital of ancient times in Karnāṭaka. It is strategically located on the banks of the Varadā river, at a point where the river takes a sharp bend ~~turn~~ so much as to surround almost threefourths of the periphery of this town. It was thus almost a Jaladurga i.e., a fortress surrounded by water. Even the author of the Prasasti of Pulikēśi II, namely Ravikīrti, did not fail to recognise the importance of the river in the defence of the town Banavāsī. Because of this strategic location coupled with the fact that it was located almost in the midst of the thick green forests of Malnāḍ, the place was soon selected by the ancient rulers of Karnāṭaka as their capital. From the time of Aśōka down to at least the foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D., its position as a capital, whether of a main royal family or of the feudatory family, remained unharmed. It was at the heights of its glory under the early Kadambas, who had it as their full-fledged capital.

ref 4

Earlier Works :

One of the early works in which anything like historical information about Banavāsi can be found is the work of Francis Buchanan, namely A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.¹ Published at the beginning of the last century, it contains some information about the availability of antiquities, particularly inscriptions at this place. Most important of all the works published in the latter half of the last century was by Fleet, titled The Dynasties of Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency.² It contained for the first time a connected history of the early Kadambas apart from other dynasties which ruled till 1318 A.D. Works of Bhandarkar,³ Gribble,⁴ Jouveau Dubreuil⁵ and others also gave some attention to the role played by this part of the Deccan in moulding the history of the region. However, it is M. Moraes's The Kadamba Kula⁶ which for the first time attempted to sketch the history of the Dynasty of Kadambas and the culture of the people under the Kadamba rulers in a systematic way. Since then a considerable body of fresh material in the form of epigraphs and art remains has come to light. An excellent review of the political history of the Deccan in post-Sātavāhana period was done by Sircar.⁷ Further a couple of works as those of Misra⁸ and Gopal⁹ have come out in print. It should

be noted that they essentially concentrate on the early political history of Banavāsi. In a seminar held at Banavāsi itself several papers were presented on various facets of the history and culture of the early Kadambas.¹⁰ They have remained unpublished. Publication of certain useful articles by Raghunatha Bhat on the archaeological and epigraphical aspects of Banavasi also deserve mention in this connection.¹¹

A perusal of these works would show that in none of them Banavāsi itself is the central or exhaustive theme. They restrict themselves particularly to the early Kadamba period or the later Kadambas or both. A detailed historical and cultural study with Banavāsi as the centre of attention has not been attempted so far. This inspite of the fact that a lot of information is available for such a study in the form of epigraphs, literature and art-remains. It is but natural that a detailed study of Banavāsi, its history and culture, should make a most interesting chapter of history of Deccan with its many sided hectic faces. With this purpose in view, the present study on Banavāsi through the ages has been taken up.

Methodology :

In tracing the vicissitudes of a place like Banavāsi, one will have to be basically descriptive, but

this description will have to pass through antecedent stages, which foster the ideas which ultimately crystallize into a coherent description. In pursuing the present work, two basic tools for research have been made use of : (i) Collection of published data and (ii) Collection of field data.

The collection of published data consisted of both modern works on the subject as well as the ancient epigraphical records bearing on the history and culture of Banavāsi. After collecting these data, they were carefully analysed and interpreted in order to cull out worthy information pertaining to the history and culture of Banavāsi. The technique of field work has been basically employed for purposes of the study of art and architecture of Banavāsi proper. Several visits were made to the place to make a detailed study particularly Madhukēśvara temple complex. While much of this field data has been used for reconstructing the artistic and architectural history, it has also been made use of, now and then, for studying religion and society. Thus here we have a blend of published and field data resulting in a descriptive account of Banavāsi and its culture wherein all important stages of research such as collection, analysis, interpretation and synthesis have been employed.

The Name Banavāsi :

Ancient records refer to Banavāsi by various alternative names : Vanavāsaka, Vanavāsi, Sañjayantī, Vaijayantī, Jayantīpura, Kanakapura, Banavāsi. The term Vanavāsaka occurs in Mahāvamśa¹² and in a Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa inscription.¹³ The Nāga stone inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi mentions the place as Sañjayantī.¹⁴ Vaijayantī is mentioned in the Sātavāhana inscriptions, as for instance the Nasik Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in which the king is stated to have been camping at Vaijayantī.¹⁵ A label inscription from Karle records donation by Bhūtapāla who is referred to as a merchant from Vējayantī (Skt. Vaijayantī).¹⁶ The Mahābhārata refers to Vanavāsika and Sañjayantī as the city conquered by Sahadēva at the time of Aśvamēdha sacrifice performed by Pāṇḍava king Dharmarāja.¹⁷ Kadamba records mention Vaijayantī as the capital. Some records from Banavāsi belonging to a Sōndā chief mentions Kanakāvatī as a synonym for Vanavāsi.¹⁸ The term Banavāsi occurs frequently in the epigraphs and literature of early medieval period.

Rev. Kittel has suggested that the term Banavāsi derives from two routes, Bana meaning "forest" and Basi or Base meaning "spring". According to him Vanavāsi is the Sanskritized form of Banavase.¹⁹ However this interpretation has not been accepted by many

scholars. According to Fleet, Banavase is a Kannaḍa form of Sanskrit word Vanavāsa.²⁰ Gopal feels that Fleet is right in his suggestion.²¹ Its beauty and prosperity probably gave it the other alternative name Vaijayanti, "the city of Gods".

Banavāsi in Purāṇas :

It has been already mentioned, that in the Mahābhārata Sahadēva, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, is stated to have conquered Saṅjayantī city, in the course of his conquests. Since Āndhra, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa countries are also stated to have been conquered along with Saṅjayantī, it is possible that the city referred to is Banavāsi itself. The Chuṭu inscription referred to above also mentions Saṅjayantī.

The Skānda Purāṇa gives a legend in connection with the Madhukēśvara temple at Vanavāsi.²² In the Vanavāsi Mahātmya of this Purāṇa the following story is given : Madhu and Khaiṭabha were demons, who lived in Vanavāsa. The elder of these Madhu got constructed the Madhukēśvara temple of this place and the younger got constructed the Khaiṭabhēśvara temple at Ānavatṭi across the river. Both these demon brothers are stated to have been killed by Viṣṇu in this place i.e., Banavāsi. The local people still believe that the Pañcha-Pāṇḍavas spent their forest-life in Banavāsi itself.

The Harivamśa Purāṇa²³ gives the following story in its Vishṇuparva : The king of Ānarta had five children. Of them the son named Mādhava was appointed as successor to the throne of Ānarta. The remaining four brothers were sent away to found new kingdoms. Of these four, the son named Sarasa founded the city of Krauñchapura in the country of Vanavāsī. It is surmised that Krauñchapura was another name of Banavāsī. It is difficult to say how far these legends recorded in Purāṇic literature can be regarded as authentic.

Geographical and Geological Background :

The district of Uttara Kannaḍa in which Banavāsī is located, is drained by four major rivers namely, the Kālīnadī, the Gangāvalī, the Aghanāsīnī and the Śarāvatī, all of which flow westward to join the Arabian Sea. Of the other rivers flowing in this district the Varadā, the Belekeri, the Kumta, the Ānehole, the Baḍagaṇi, the Venkatāpur and the Saravatī are notable. The river Varadā, unlike the others flows eastwards. It originates in the north-east part of Shimoga district and flowing north and east passes through a corner of Uttara Kannaḍa, near the town of Banavāsī. Later it joins the Tūṅgabhadra at Gaḷaganātha in Hāvēri Taluk, Dhārwaḍ District. The river Dharmā, which originates at Islur tank, also flows eastward and joins the Varadā in Dhārwaḍ district. From a strategic point



of view, for Banavāsi, the river Varadā has been of great utility because it flows round the town almost providing a defence on its three sides; almost going around the remaining side, completes the circle, making the fort of Banavāsi virtually a Jaladurga, i.e., a fort defended by water on all the sides.

The district has rock formations of archæan complex which occur over the whole of the area. It is characterised by the system of ridges and plateaux on the west descending rapidly to a narrow strip of low land covered by alluvium. This area receives abundant rainfall and supports cultivation. This lowland appears to have emerged from the sea owing to sea level changes. Almost parallel to the coast line, there is a range of hills with several peaks descending westwards. It comprises of granites and schists. These ridges separate the Sahyādris consisting of Deccan traps from the western ghats consisting of Dhārwād schists. The interior eastward of the district is almost entirely hilly consisting of Dhārwād and the peninsular gneisses. The Dhārwārs are represented by chloritic schists. The peninsular gneiss consists mostly of fine grained granites, outcropping in the lower levels of central and southern parts of the district. The archæan granites and gneisses are capped by laterite in many places of the district. These are tropical rocks, resulting from alternations under tropical conditions of the basement

rocks. They are quarried and used as bricks for construction in the district.

Various types of forests cover the district. They are evergreen, semi-evergreen, moist, deciduous, scrub and thorny and unwooded.

In the Śirsi Taluk, the forests are of semi-evergreen and evergreen types. The evergreen forests are found in patches here and there. They provide timber, firewood, bamboo, and so on.

The location of Banavāsi in this area is significant from the point of view of the thick vegetation of forest types. In fact, the very name of the place seems to have been derived on account of its location in the evergreen forest area. Thus the place would also deserve to be called Vanadurga i.e., a fort defended by thick forests.²⁴

Sources :

Sources furnishing information about the history of Banavāsi are as numerous as those pertaining to Indian history. They may be broadly classified into two classes namely archaeological and literary. Archaeological sources may be further classified into four categories namely excavations, epigraphs, art and architectural remains and coins. Of these epigraphs

are undoubtedly the most important. A good number of epigraphs which help reconstruct the history and culture of the region are found in Banavāsi itself or nearby places, particularly in Shimoga district. However, many more inscriptions of importance are also found outside Banavāsi. The inscriptions begin to appear in Banavāsi from the period of the Sātavāhanas. So far only one inscription of the Sātavāhanas has been found in Banavāsi and it belongs to Vāsishṭīputra Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi.²⁵ One inscription of the Chuṭu dynasty which succeeded the Sātavāhanas in this part of the Karnāṭaka is also found at this place.²⁶ It should be pointed out that these do not throw direct light on the political events taking place in the region because as in the case of most of the inscriptions of India, their purpose was donatory. So far as the history of the Kadambas is concerned the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma still retains its importance.²⁷ This wellknown inscription furnishes the events leading to the foundation of the Kadamba kingdom and delineates the succession of kings of this dynasty till Kākusthavarma under whom the Kadambas were at the zenith of their glory.

Another important inscription discovered recently is the one from Guḍnāpur which has helped to trace the genealogy of the Kadambas backwards by two more generations.²⁸ The earlier belief that Vīraśarma mentioned as the guru of Mayūraśarma in Tālagunda inscription is

now given up in the light of the evidence of Guḍṇāpur inscription which mentions Vīraśarma and Bandhushēṇa respectively, as grand-father and father of Mayūraśarma. For the post-early Kadamba history of Banavāsi, we have to look up to Chālukya, Ālupa, Rāshtrakūṭa and Gaṅga records. There was a temporary eclipse of the rule of the Kadamba dynasty till the advent of Chaṭṭayya as a feudatory officer of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the last years of the rule of that dynasty, though Banavāsi continued to enjoy the position of the head-quarters of an administrative division named after it. For the history of later Kadambas, a number of epigraphic records are available which have to be critically reviewed to cull out proper history. The Banavāsi inscription of the later Kadamba king Kīrtidēva²⁹ may be mentioned in this connection.

While these examples should suffice to draw attention to the importance of epigraphs so far as political history is concerned, the epigraphs are of no mean value for reconstructing cultural aspects. For example, epigraphs throw ample light on the various facets of the society such as the different classes of the people, the food, costumes, amusements etc. These have been examined separately elsewhere in this work. More important are these epigraphs for tracing the history of the religions, language and literature in the region.³⁰

Another valuable source of information is the remains of art and architecture. Some excavation has been done in Banavāsi proper revealing certain aspects of the early brick architecture of the place.³¹ The sculptural and architectural remains of Banavāsi not only give us an insight into the artistic achievements, but they also help in identifying the types of ornaments, iconography and the religious beliefs prevalent in the region. Right from the Sātavāhana period structures begin to occur, culminating in the famous Madhukēśvara temple.

Although very few hoards of coins have come to light from the Banavāsi region, they are of considerable significance. Some coins for instance have revealed names of kings who are otherwise unknown from epigraphs. The names of Śivalānanda and Mudānanda are good instances of the utility of coins for reconstructing the political outlines.³²

Literary sources fall into two categories namely foreign and indigenous. The Ceylonese Buddhist work Mahāvamsa may be cited as a good example of a foreign source for culling out information about the early history of Buddhism in the Banavāsi region.³³ Similarly, Varāhamihira's Bṛihatsamhitā and Chāmarasa's Prabhu-lingalīle are also useful works. Another example is Pampa's Vikramārjuna-Vijaya. Similarly Chālukya king

Somēśvara's Mānasollāsa is of great value for providing glimpses of the otherwise unknown facets of the society.³⁴

The foreign accounts containing the notices of Banavāsi are not exhaustive. The mention of Banavāsi by classical writer Ptolemy,³⁵ is noteworthy. He mentions Banavāsi as an important town of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Similarly the account of Hieun tsang, the Chinese traveller who visited India in the 7th century A.D. gives information about the Buddhist vestiges of the place.³⁶

The above survey amply demonstrates that a lot of source material is at our disposal for making a critical study and to reconstruct a connected history of the Banavāsi region.

The Plan of the Work :

The period covered in this work extends from the period of the Nandas to the foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D. The latter is an accepted terminus ad quem for it connotes the commencement of a new era in the politics of the Deccan and deserves separate study. The work has been arranged in various chapters which deal with specific aspects of the history and culture of Banavāsi. The second chapter concentrates on the political history of the region from earliest times down

to the foundation of Vijayanagar empire. The history of various dynasties that ruled over the region has been dealt with in detail in this chapter.

In the third chapter, an account of the Administration of Banavāsi is given against a chronological background.

In the fourth chapter the various facets of the society covering the social classes, food habits, dress, ornaments and certain economic aspects are dealt with.

Religion, language and literature of the region form the theme of the fifth chapter. Herein are provided detailed accounts of various religions, the development of language and an outline of literature in the region during the period under study.

The art and architectural remains have been described and examined in the sixth chapter.

In the last chapter i.e., the seventh, concluding remarks have been given. The work is illustrated with necessary line drawings and photographs. A bibliography is also appended at the end of the work.

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CHAPTER II

BANAVASI IN POLITICAL HISTORY



C H A P T E R I I

BANAVĀSI IN POLITICAL HISTORY

1. The Pre-Kadamba Period :

The Nandas :

Tradition avers that in the days of yore the Nandas of Magadha held sway over the Kuntala country. The region of Kuntala has been identified with Northern parts of modern Karnataka. If there is any truth in this tradition, it is plausible that the region of Banavāsī formed a part of the empire of the Nandas. Vanavāsaka, mentioned in the Mahābhārata,¹ is possibly an allusion to the region of Banavāsī itself since the region has been known to bear that name from considerably ancient times.

The Mauryas :

The Mauryas under Chandragupta supplanted the Nandas in the political sphere. They inherited practically all the territories enjoyed by the Nandas. No evidence whatsoever is available in respect of Banavāsī region during the regime of the first two kings of the Maurya dynasty, viz., Chandragupta and Bindusāra. But it is from the time of Aśoka the great that direct references to Banavāsī as a prominent region commence to

occur. The period of Aśoka witnessed the Third Buddhist Council held under his patronage at his capital, Pāṭali-putra. The information pertaining to the proceedings and the outcome of the Third Council are dealt with in the Srilankan chronicles, the Mahāvamsa and the Dīpavamsa.² We come to know from these texts that Moggalī-putta, the great thēra under whose guidance the deliberations of the Third Buddhist Council were held, sent a number of thēras in different directions to propagate the religion of the Buddha. In this connection it is mentioned that Thēra Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa, where he preached the Anamataggasamyutta and converted thousands of people to Buddhism.³ Apparently, such actions were sanctioned and encouraged by emperor Aśoka himself. Vanavāsa here probably denotes the region whose central place of importance was Vanavāsi or Banavāsi. It is from this time that the place became an important centre of Buddhism for its dissemination into the neighbouring regions. Aśoka is stated to have built a Stūpa here.⁴

While the foregoing evidence establishes in one way or the other the connection of Aśoka Maurya with Banavāsi, it is strange that no inscription of his has been found so far in that place. This fact may even give rise to a doubt as to whether the region of Banavāsi was within the empire of Aśoka or outside it. If we look at the distribution of Aśokan inscriptions found in peninsular India, a line drawn on the map from Siddāpura

(Chitradurga District) to Sōpāra (Maharashtra) through Koppal (Raichur District) would appear to throw Banavāsī region outside the pale of Aśōkan dominions. His inscriptions, however, mention Chōḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputra and Kēralaputra as the bordering kingdoms to the South of his empire,⁵ whereas Vanavāsaka is not mentioned. Unless it is presumed that Vanavāsaka formed part and parcel of the kingdom of the Satiyaputra (usually identified with the South Kanara region of Karnataka), it becomes difficult, therefore, to explain the exclusion of Vanavāsaka from the list of neighbouring kingdoms mentioned in Aśōkan inscriptions. And there is no evidence forthcoming for deducing the Vanavāsaka really formed part of kingdom of Satiyaputras. Accordingly, it is reasonable not to doubt the fact that Vanavāsaka formed part of Aśōkan empire and perhaps represented the south-western administrative division of the Mauryan empire. To this inference we may add a few more indirect evidences. A punch-marked coin of doubtful stratigraphic context found during the excavations at Banavāsī has been assigned to pre-Sātavāhana or late Maurya period by A.V. Narasimha Murthy.⁶ In the Maḷavallī inscription of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda,⁷ a Rajjuka is mentioned in the sense of a governor. It is known from the Aśōkan records that Rajjuka was governor of a district. The occurrence of this term in Maḷavallī record is possibly a survival in this region of the administrative hierarchy

established by the Mauryas. We may also advert here to the fact that a dynasty known as Mauryas (Moriyas) ruled in the Konkan (covering the region around Goa) as late as the period of Chālukyas of Vātāpi. They may be descendants of the Mauryas of Magadha. With these facts in view, we may easily preclude the possibility of Banavāsī region being outside the dominions of Āśoka Maurya. The absence of his inscription at Banavāsī may perhaps be explained by the fact that no suitable rock-material was available there for engraving his edict. If there be any truth in the statement that Āśoka built a Stūpa here, one day we may chance upon an inscription of his in Banavāsī itself to clear the presently pervading clouds of ambiguity.

Āśoka's inscriptions mention Bhōjas, Rāṣṭrikas, Āndhras and Pulindas as peoples living in the southern part of his dominions.⁸ Probably this is a reference to the peoples who were governed by the ruling subordinate families bearing those names. From post-Mauryan epigraphs and coins we come to know of Mahābhōjas⁹ and Mahārāṭhis,¹⁰ while the Purāṇas refer to Sātavāhanas as Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛityas. Within fifty years after the death of Āśoka, the reins of the Mauryan Government became loose and the subordinates became strong. Mauryan empire met its doom when the commander-in-chief of the army, Pushyamitra Śunga made a coup by slaying Brīhadratha, the last Maurya ruler.

The Sātavāhanas :

The dynasty of the Sātavāhanas made best out of the situation created by the coup in Magadha. They slowly asserted their suzerainty soon after the disruption of the Mauryan empire began. The Purāṇas would have us believe that Sīmuka of this dynasty slayed the last Kāṇva ruler and became independent. The discrepancy pertaining to origin and chronology of the Sātavāhanas is not yet settled.¹¹ But when Banavāsi comes into picture, the matter of their chronology is on a better footing.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, a great ruler of the dynasty, is the first to deserve mention in connection with the situation in Banavāsi. He was the reviver of the lost glory of the Sātavāhanas. He defeated and killed Kshaharāta Nahapāṇa. His conquests appear to have been far and wide. His Nasik cave inscription¹² dated in his 18th regnal year (C. 124 A.D.) informs that he was in his victorious camp at Vaijayantī (Banavāsi) in that year. It appears that Banavāsi area formed part of his newly conquered territories. Possibly the situation in that region required his leading a military campaign. It cannot be decided on the available evidence how far Sātakarṇi penetrated south of Karnataka. The Tālagunda (Shimoga District) inscription of Kākusthavarma informs that a Sātakarṇi

performed his obeisance to the deity Praṇavēśvara of that place.¹³ Perhaps, we may be justified in assuming that this Sātakarṇi was the same as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty. It cannot, however, be ascertained who the local rulers at Banavāsi were at that time. It is possible that the Sātavāhana invested the rulership of the Banavāsi region with a reliable feudatory family connected with his own. Perhaps this family was that of the Chuṭu-Ānandas who also bore names ending with Sātakarṇi and who succeeded the Sātavāhanas subsequently at Banavāsi as independent rulers. Banavāsi obviously became an important administrative headquarters under the Sātavāhanas, which fact made its path easier to carve out an independent entity later. According to some scholars like Mirashi, Gautamīputra's dominions did not include Kuntala.¹⁴ He states that Gautamīputra's coins have not been found in this region. It was Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi who made conquests in lower Deccan and annexed the Kuntala country. This view appears to be ill founded. The Nasik cave inscription referred to above clearly disproves this. These scholars have belittled the statements in the epigraph of Balasri found in Nasik and belonging to the reign of his successor Pulumāvi. It is stated therein that Gautamīputra's horses had drunk the waters of the three oceans. This indicates that in the southern Deccan at least his kingdom extended considerably. There is no gainsaying that his coins are not

found in the Kuntala region. In Banavāsi itself his coins are found.¹⁵ Hence it appears reasonable to state that a major part of Kuntala was already in the dominion of the Sātavāhanas during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The establishment of a feudatory house in Banavāsi connected with the main ruling house was of considerable importance. It appears that the Sātavāhana kings had their matrimonial alliance with this family. This is implied by the recently discovered epigraph of the time of Vāsishtīputra Śiva-Siri Puḷumāvi at Banavāsi.¹⁶ The inscription refers to the "Shadow Stone" (or memorial stone) of the queen (Mahādēvī) of the king. Since it is found in Banavāsi, we may reasonably assume that she hailed from Banavāsi itself. In that case, it will have to be further assumed that a feudatory royal house whose name is yet to be ascertained ruled in Banavāsi.

Who this Vāsishtīputra Śiva Siri Puḷumāvi was ? There has been some discussion on this point, though there is no doubt that he was a Sātavāhana king of 2nd century A.D.

Mirashi¹⁷ feels that Siri Puḷumāvi of the coins and Śiva Siri Puḷumāvi of the present inscription are identical. According to him, the genealogy of the Sātavāhanas from Gautamīputra, reconstructed on Purāṇic and numismatic evidence would be as follows :

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

|
Puloma(vi)

|
Śiva Śrī (Sātakarṇi)

He further elaborates that in the Wategaon hoard of coins of the two Sātavāhana kings, viz., (i) Vāsishtīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi (Raño-Vāsithīputa Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvīsa), and (ii) Vāsishtīputra Śrī Skanda Sātakarṇi (Raño Vāsithīputa Siri Khada Sātakarṇisa), the latter was the same as Śiva-Skanda Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas. Śiva as a prefix to the names, according to him, is optional and hence it is sometimes used and sometimes omitted. Thus Siva Siri Puḷumāvi is the same as Siri Puḷumāvi. He regards Vāsishtīputra Puḷumāvi of Nāsik cave inscription, Vāsishtīputra Sātakarṇi of Kānhēri cave inscription and Vāsishtīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi of the coins as three uterine brothers and sons of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Vāsishtīputra Puḷumāvi succeeded Gautamīputra. He is credited with annexation of Kuntala to his dominion. But as we have noted above, it is more reasonable to think that he inherited the Kuntala from his father and was able to consolidate the area so inherited.

According to Mirashi,¹⁸ after Puḷumāvi's death the Sātavāhana kingdom was divided between his brothers Vāsishtīputra Sātakarṇi (v), who shared the Āndhra region, and Vāsishtīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi who shared

western Maharashtra, Kuntala and Vidarbha. After the former's death, the latter extended his dominions to Āndhra region also. His coins have been found all over the empire. Sarma, however places him as a successor of Vāsisthīputra Śiri Sātakarṇi, who was preceded by Vāsithīputra Puḷumāvi after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.¹⁹ He points out that the Nānāghāt record cannot be ascribed to this ruler and his identification with Vāsithīputra Puḷumāvi is not tenable since there are clear evidences, including silver portrait coins with different bust. It is difficult to draw any final conclusion in the present state of knowledge on this aspect, though it appears to be reasonable to assume 'Siva' to be an optional prefix connoting "auspiciousness".

That the Banavāsi region continued to be under the sway of the Sātavāhanas even after Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi is evidenced by some coins. For example, the coins of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi are found not only ⁱⁿ Chandravallī excavations but also in Banavāsi excavations.²⁰ This king was the last great king of the Sātavāhana line. After his death began the disruption of the Sātavāhana empire. His successors were Vijaya Sātakarṇi, who appears to have ruled over Maharashtra and Andhra; Chanda Sātakarṇi, who ruled over coastal Andhra; and Puḷumāvi (iv) the last ruler whose area extended over Maharashtra and Upper Karnataka. The Myākāḍōṇi inscription (Bellary District) has been ascribed to him, though some scholars

have questioned this ascription on subtle issues.²¹ A few other rulers like Rudra, Śaka, Karṇa and Kumbha are known from coins restricted to particular regions. The Sātavāhana empire became disrupted mainly because of the incessant warfare with the Śaka-Kshatrapas and the incompetent and divided successions of the rulers after Yajña Śrī, which failed to hold the empire together.

The Chuṭu-Ānandas :

The Chuṭu-Ānandas were the virtual successors of the Sātavāhanas in Kuntaladēśa with their capital at Vaijayantī (or Banavāsī). We are told in the Matsya Purāṇa²² that after the end of the rule of Āndhra (which lasted 460 years), their feudatories and others ruled their kingdom. They included : 7 Āndhras, 10 Ābhiras, 7 Gārdabhis, 18 Śakas, 8 Yavanas, 14 Tushāras, 13 Garuḍas and 19 Hūnas. It appears, therefore, that the descendants of the Sātavāhanas (Āndhras) continued to rule over the pretty kingdoms in certain parts of their original empire. And, perhaps, one of the feudatory dynasties which had blood-relation with the Sātavāhanas began to rule from Vaijayantī, and it was that of the Chuṭu-Ānandas. The fact that at least one independent ruler, perhaps the first, of this dynasty had a name suffixed with 'Sātakarṇi' suggests the blood-relationship of these rulers with the original Sātavāhana line. This

perhaps led the composer of the Matsya Purāṇa to designate the Chuṭus also as the Āndhras. As pointed out above, the Chuṭu-Ānandas had been plausibly installed on the feudatory throne at Vaijayantī by Sātavāhana Gautamī-putra Sātakarṇi, after his conquest of the Vanavāsa country. Obviously they must have declared their independence and begun independent rule soon after the fall of the main line of the Sātavāhanas in early 3rd century A.D.

The Chuṭu-Ānandas are known essentially from two Prakrit inscriptions and some coins. Their origin is not clear. Some scholars believe that 'Chuṭu' connotes the meaning 'smaller' or 'lesser' and that, as such, they represent a lesser family of Sātakarṇis (Sātavāhanas); whereas the 'greater' Sātakarṇis were the Sātavāhanas ruling from Pratishthāna.²³ But no final word can be said about this interpretation. In any case their relation to the Sātavāhana ruling line appears to be a reasonable presumption.

Not much is known about the members of the Chuṭu-Ānanda dynasty except a few names. So far only two official records of this dynasty have come to light and both of them are subjected to differing interpretations. The Maḷavaḷḷi inscription (Shimoga Dist.)²⁴ refers to king of Vaijayantī, Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of Mānavya-gōtra. It is dated the first year

of his reign and records the grant of village Sahalāṭavī for the enjoyment of God of Maḷapaḷḷi (= Maḷavaḷḷi). No reference is made therein to any predecessor of the king. The other record of the dynasty comes from the capital Vaijayantī itself. It refers to the 12th regnal year of king Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi in which Sivakhada-Nāgasiri, the daughter of Mahābhūvi (= Mahābhōjī) Mahārājā and mother of Yuvarāja (crown-prince), is stated to have made gift of a Nāga, a tank and a vihāra.²⁵

Sircar has pointed out that palaeographically the Maḷavaḷḷi record comes after the Banavāsi record. As such he is inclined to consider Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of the Banavāsi record as different from his namesake of the Maḷavaḷḷi record.²⁶ Following his line of argument Desai²⁷ and Gopal²⁸ have built up the genealogy of the Chuṭu kings as follows :

Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi I
|
Śivaskandanāgaśrī
|
Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi II

But these scholars appear to have made much of the palaeographical difference. As Panchamukhi remarks,²⁹ it is incorrect to say that there would be striking differences in palaeography and language within a period of thirty

or forty years. Also, the interpretation that Śivaskandanāgaśrī was daughter of Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi appears to be wrong. The epithet Mahābhōjī obviously implies that she was a lady of Mahābhōja family, just as queen Nāganikā of Nānaghāt record belonged to the Mahārathi family.³⁰ Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi of both Banavāsi and Maḷavaḷḷi records was the same person and that Śivaskandanāgaśrī was his queen. This is also strengthened by the fact that she is described in the record as mother of Yuvarāja. Rapson³¹ and Lüders³² thought that a Kānhēri inscription similar to the Banavāsi Chuṭu record also belongs to the Chuṭu king Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi. However, they felt that Śivaskandanāgaśrī mentioned in Banavāsi record is actually the name of Yuvarāja and that his mother's name has been omitted there. According to them she was the same as Nāgamūlanikā of the Kānhēri record who is described therein as Mahārājabālikāya - Mahābhōjiya, sister of Ahija and Dhana-sena, and mother of Khadanāga Sataka. Mirashi has also upheld this view recently.³³ This record, however, is badly damaged and it is difficult to draw a final remark on this aspect. And in the present state of knowledge, it is difficult to lay aside the evidence of Banavāsi record.

"Chuṭukulānanda" was probably a favourite title of Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi. Numerous coins bearing this legend have been found both in Banavāsi³⁴ and Chandravāḷḷi³⁵

and may be ascribed to that king. Considering the numismatic and epigraphic evidence we may state that his kingdom extended over a considerable portion of northern Karnataka covering North Kanara, Shimoga and Chitradurga districts and possibly parts of Bijapur and Dharwad districts also. The region of Belgaum³⁶ has yielded the coins of Kuras, as also the area of Kolhapur.³⁷ Obviously, these regions were outside the sphere of Chuṭu-Ānanda rule.

The contemporary evidence elsewhere indicates that the Chuṭu-Ānanda-Sātakarṇis maintained cordial relations with other kingdoms. Most noteworthy among them were the Ikshvākus of Vijayapurī (= Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). In an inscription of Chāntamula II of that dynasty it is stated that his sister Koḍabalisiri (daughter of Vīrapurisadata) was the queen (Mahādēvī) of Vanavāsakamahārāja, i.e., the king of Banavāsi.³⁸ King Vīrapurisadata's reign was the most prosperous one in the history of the Ikshvākus.

Sircar has shown that one of his inscriptions is dated in 273 A.D.³⁹ But we have one more inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which is dated 278 A.D.,⁴⁰ and belongs to Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa. This inscription has been interpreted as showing the Ābhīra invasion over Ikshvāku kingdom by many scholars. The record does not refer to any hostility between the Ābhīras and Ikshvākus, nor is there any reference to the latter. The purpose of the record was to commemorate the erection of Aṣṭabhujasvāmi temple at

Vijayapurī. Apart from the Ābhīra king, numerous other kings are stated to have participated in the erection of the temple and one of them was Vishṇu-Rudra-Śivalānanda of Vanavāsa (= Banavāsi). If the record is interpreted as evidence for Ābhīra invasion and interregnum in Ikshvāku rule, then it has to be assumed that the Vanavāsaka king formed a party to the invasion. A Study of the Ikshvāku records, however, shows that they had very cordial relations with most of the contemporary kingdoms like those of Ujjainī, and even had matrimonial relations. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to believe that the Ābhīras along with other kings attacked and occupied Vijayapurī, the capital of the Ikshvākus. As Sharma has suggested,⁴¹ it was probably a courtesy visit to Ikshvāku capital by the Ābhīra and various other kings who commemorated their visit by erecting a Vishṇu temple at the place. If this surmise is correct, then it also follows that the Vanavāsaka king who married Koḍabālisirī, the daughter of Ikshvāku Vīrapurīsadāta was no other than Vishṇu-Rudra-Śivalānanda-Sātakarṇī himself. There can be little doubt that he belonged to the Chuṭu-Ānanda line as suggested particularly by the suffix Sātakarṇī. His favourite title probably was 'Śivalānanda' and the numerous coins bearing the legend 'Śivalānanda' must be attributed to this king.⁴²

From the coins found in North Kanara District, one

more king 'Mudānanda' is known.⁴³ Obviously, it is only a title of a Chuṭu-Ānanda king whose name was suffixed with Sātakarṇi. So this king was 'Mudānanda' Sātakarṇi. It is not possible to decide whether he preceded 'Śivalānanda' or succeeded him, until further evidence comes to light. But scholars are usually prone to regard 'Mudānanda' as a successor of 'Chuṭukulānanda'. This, together with the fact that Mudānanda coins have not been found outside Karwar district, appears to indicate the decline in the rule of Ānandas possibly owing to the changing political conditions. The growing power of the Pallavas was a great hindrance to the peaceful co-existence of the kingdoms of the lower Deccan. The first victim in this direction was perhaps the Banavāsi kingdom itself. The next was that of the Ikshvākus.

It is difficult to reconstruct the chronology and genealogy of the Chuṭu-Ānanda kings. From the above discussion, we may, however, arrive at the following deductions. Assuming that the main Sātavāhana line came to a close around 224 A.D.⁴⁴ the Chuṭu-Ānandas must have asserted their independence approximately around that year. Possibly this was commemorated by Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi in his first regnal year by donating the village Sahalāṭavī for his family deity at Maḷavaḷḷi. He ruled for at least 12 years as evidenced by the Banavāsi inscription. Already he had named his son as Yuvarāja in that year. The Nāga



image was got carved by his mother Śivaskanda-Nāgaśrī probably to wish longevity for the Yuvarāja, who might have been still a very young boy. Assuming that his father continued to rule for another 10 or 11 years, Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi's rule probably extended upto C. 249-50 A.D. His anonymous son probably succeeded him to the throne and may be taken to have ruled for about 25 years, i.e. upto C. 275 A.D. Viṣṇupurudra-Śivalānanda was plausibly his successor, though it is not known whether he was the son of the anonymous king. He was in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in 278 A.D. He was, as pointed out above, probably the husband of Vīrapurisadata's daughter Koḍabalisiri. The latter's inscription is dated in the 11th regnal year of Chāntamūla II (C. 314 A.D.).⁴⁵ It appears that the Vanavāsaka king Śivalānanda was still alive at that time. The rule of his successor Mudānanda may not have lasted long as the Pallavas displaced him soon. This took place around the same period when the Ikshvākus were also displaced i.e., C. 340 A.D. This means that sometime between C. 314 and 340 A.D., the Chuṭu-Ānandas were either subdued or exterminated by the Pallavas. The victim Chuṭu-Ānanda king was in all probability Mudānanda himself. Basing on these arguments we may reconstruct the Chuṭu-Ānanda genealogy as follows :

Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi :

Wife : Śivakhadanāgaśrī (C. 224-250 A.D.)

|

Son (anonymous) (C. 250-275 A.D.)

|

Son (?)

|

Vishṇurudra Śivalānanda Sātakarṇi

Wife : Ikshvāku Koḍabalīsiri (C. 275-314 A.D.)

|

Mudānanda Sātakarṇi (C. 314-340 A.D.)

The Pallavas :

The 2nd Maḷavaḷḷi Prakrit record inscribed after that of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi was issued by a Kadamba king.⁴⁶ This inscription also has been subjected to different interpretations. Rapson thought that Śivaskandavarman referred to in Maḷavaḷḷi record No. 2 was grandson of Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi of No. 1; he was son of Śivaskandanāgaśrī.⁴⁷ Sircar felt that some more villages were granted by Śivaskandavarman which were renewed by a Kadamba king who was either Mayūravarma or his successor.⁴⁸ Panchamukhi also considers Śivaskandavarman as a member of the Chuṭu family and feels that the anonymous Kadamba king was no other than Mayūraśarma.⁴⁹ According to him there are totally three donors in the Maḷavaḷḷi records : Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi first made gift of

a village; Śivaskandavarma of the same family added to it a few more villages; the Kadamba king renewed all these grants. As pointed out by him Kadambānāmrajā is in the first case ending while Śivaskandavarmanā is in the third case; and hence they cannot be identical. Gopal, however, argues⁵⁰ that "there is not much of a time gap between the two Maḷavaḷḷi epigraphs and it would be difficult to assume that within that short period a gift was made of a village to which was later added some more and all of them, having lapsed, were renewed finally by the Kadamba. The grammatical technical inconsistency need not be taken too seriously. Perhaps there is nothing wrong in assuming that the renewed-extended grant was made by Śivaskandavarma who was, indeed, the Kadamba king".

However, we differ from these two interpretations. The grammatical-technical usages should not be underestimated in interpreting any record. Panchamukhi is obviously right in deducing that two donors - Śivaskandavarma and an anonymous Kadamba ruler - are referred to in Maḷavaḷḷi record No. 2. However, Śivaskandavarma does not appear to be a Chuṭu ruler. He was probably an early Pallava ruler or his vassal styling himself after the name of the Pallava. It is from the Pallava times that the suffix varma begins to appear in the south. Obviously, after the acquisition of the new territory, to affirm his patronage to the family deity of Vaijayantī rulers, the

Pallava must have donated a few more villages for the enjoyment of the god of Maḷavaḷḷi. The fact that none of the early Kadamba records refers to any ruler before Vīraśarma thoroughly militates against the hypothesis of Gopal that Śivaskandavarma was a Kadamba ruler. Mayūra-varma was the first real Kadamba ruler who established himself against the Pallavas and it is likely that in the period of combat with the Pallavas for independence, the state of affairs at Maḷavaḷḷi may have been affected by political uncertainties. Probably after Mayūravarma was firmly placed on the Kadamba throne and recognised by the Pallavas themselves, the new king appears to have set right the things at Maḷavaḷḷi by renewing the earlier grants. Therefore, it is likely that, the anonymous Kadamba king of the Maḷavaḷḷi record was no other than Mayūravarma. So far as Śivaskandavarma of the record is considered, he was probably the son of Pallava Simhavarman who occupied Banavāsi when his father was still reigning, or a vassal bearing his name. The Pallava occupation of Banavāsi was a short-lived triumph because they were soon replaced by Kadamba Mayūravarma. The Pallava regime in Banavāsi lasted probably from C. 340 to 353 A.D.⁵¹

2. The Kadamba Period :

The rise of the Kadambas marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Deccan. Theirs may be

described as the first sizeable kingdom with motivations of expansion and defense which successfully countered the extension of the Pallava dominions into Karnataka, as did the Vishnukundins in Andhra. The emergence of other powerful kingdoms like those of Vishnukundins and the Gangas in the neighbourhood of the Kadamba territory did not, however, give an opportunity to the Kadamba monarchs to raise their Kingdom to the status of a large empire. But, nevertheless, their history is imprinted with hectic political activities against heavy odds and far-reaching cultural contributions making it an important epoch. Although their suzerainty lasted only until C. 540 A.D., when they were suppressed by the rising tide of the Chālukya power, the descendants of the Kadambas ruled in different parts of Karnataka in the capacity of feudatories as late as the close of 13th century A.D.

The Origin of the Kadambas :

The origin of the Kadambas is shrouded in mystery. Inscriptions form the mainstay of the historian, but they give divergent views. The later Kadamba records of the early medieval period give an account which ascribes the Kadambas a mythical origin. Trilōchana (Mukkaṇṇa, the three-eyed) Kadamba was, according to this account, the progenitor of the family. He sprang from the sweat of Lord Śiva which dropped out of the tired forehead of the

Lord under a Kadamba tree (anthocephalus Kadamba). Mayūravarma, according to the legend, was Trilōchana Kadamba's son.⁵² Different versions of similar story are narrated in these late records. For instance, Trilōchana Kadamba is said to have had four long arms and an eye on the forehead like Śiva.⁵³ Again, in a Harihar record, it is stated that Mayūravarma was born to Rudra and Ilā (goddess earth) under the auspicious Kadamba tree and that he had an eye on his forehead; hence he was also called Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba.⁵⁴

In a Baḷligāve epigraph,⁵⁵ the following account of the origin of the Kadambas is given : "when Aśvatthāma went to the Kailāsa mount, he saw king Nanda worshipping the feet of Śiva with various flowers praying for a son. At a moment of distress two Kadamba flowers fell down as if plucked and with them he worshipped the God. Then he was blessed with two sons who were to be the progenitors of the Kadamba-Kula. Those two were Kīrtivarma and Ayutavarma who were instructed in the use of weapons by Aśvatthāma as desired by Śiva".

According to another account,⁵⁶ the origin of Mayūravarma was as under : A king named Maṇivarma ruling the kingdom of Banavāsi had no issue for a long time. In his old age, he was blessed with two sons, Kanakavarma and Vīravarma. When the Pāṇḍya king named Śibi Pāṇḍya invaded the Banavāsi kingdom and captured it, Maṇivarma's

preceptor took away the two princes to Varakula (identified with Bārakūru in South Kanara District). The king of that place died without a successor and the royal elephant was expected to garland and pick the new king. Ṛishi Mārkaṇḍēya informed the princes that the elephant would garland only those who killed the peacock that lived on a mango tree on the north-east of the Bārakūr city and drank its blood. Vīravarma did this and was garlanded by the elephant. He ascended the throne under the new name Lōkāditya Mayūravarma.

The Grāma Paddhati,⁵⁷ a Kannaḍa work dealing with the history of Tuluvas, records another tradition : When Śiva and Pārvatī were rejoicing the creation of Paraśurāma, a son was born to Pārvatī under a Kadamba tree. He was given the name Kadamba and was placed in charge of the Western-Ghat region. In this line was born Mayūravarma. He made Banavāsi his capital.

A Jaina tradition⁵⁸ recorded in an 11th century inscription, states that Mayūravarma, the progenitor of the Kadamba family, was a son of a sister of Ānanda Jinavratīndra, a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, born under a Kadamba tree. Śāsanadēvī conferred on him a kingdom. He was named Mayūravarma because a crown of peacock feathers had been placed on his brow.

All these accounts are of later origin. But one thing common about them is the association of the name Kadamba with the Kadamba tree or flowers. In fact, the Tālagunda epigraph, composed after about 100 years from the esta-

blishment of the Kingdom by Mayūravarma, is also of the same view : The Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas initially and they got their family name because their residence was situated near a lone Kadamba tree with blooming flowers. "As they (the family) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (these) Brāhmaṇa fellow students currently (accepted) as distinguishing them". This version is more acceptable so far as the origin of the family name is concerned.

Scholars have tried to trace the original region to which the Kadambas belonged. According to Moraes, the Kadamba tree is common only in the Deccan.⁶⁰ Kadamba tree is stated to be indigenous to Sikkim, North Kanara (in Karnataka), Northern Circars, Cuddapah and Kurnool.⁶¹ Of late, Ramesh has broached another theory.⁶² "The fact that the Tālagunda epigraph refers to that tree as ēkapādapa - a lone Kadamba tree - would imply that it would have given the family the casual name of Kadamba only if it had been grown in a non-Kadamba - growing area". Therefore, the Kadambas might have "migrated from some Kadamba-growing area to some place in non-Kadamba Konkaṇa, probably in the Kanara tract". He feels that the thickly forested region into which Mayūravarma retired for his strategy against the Pallavas is likely to be the Malenāḍu-Kanara region. He further ventures to suggest that Śrī-parvata referred to in the Tālagunda record could be Sisilā

village in South Kanara district and that Kadambas were natives of Malenāḍu region.

Burkitt states that the Kadamba tree grows thickly in the Himālayan plateau to the east of Nepal, Burma and in the ghats of Malabār in the South.⁶³ The tree appears to have been quite common in the region around Mathurā and in South India from quite early times, and has an antiquity of at least 2,000 years. Therefore, according to Gopal,⁶⁴ it is incorrect to consider that it was found only in the Deccan.

According to Gopal,⁶⁵ the ancestors of Mayūravarma were originally inhabitants of North India and migrated later to the South and settled in the regions of Shivamogga, Kārwar and Dharwad districts. He also states that the Kadamba tree was their totem. In support of his opinion he proposes the following argument : (i) The statement of the Baḷligāve record reveals the northern connection as it mentions Nandas in connection with the Kadambas. (ii) "In a record of Kadambas of Hāngal, Mayūravarma is said to have migrated from the Himālayan region and brought 18 Brāhmaṇa families from Ahichchhatra and settled them in the Kuntala country". (iii) Another "record suggests that he actually established his power in the region of Himavat". He further argues : "The progenitor of the family might as well be a person named Mayūra with whom the Kadamba tree had some accidental connection. It is

quite possible that they had migrated to the southern region and when they, after long, saddled themselves into power first served the Sātavāhanas slowly carving out a principality for themselves. Like the Chuṭu-Sātakarṇis they also claim to belong to the Mānavyagōtra and as sons of Hārītī. The Dēvagirī grant of Mṛigēśavarma indicates that they actually belonged to the Mānvyagōtra and as sons of Hārītī. The Dēvagirī grant of Mṛigēśavarma indicates that they actually belonged to the Āṅgīrasa-gōtra. That 47 of their inscriptions are in Sanskrit indicates the impact of Sanskrit on the Deccan in this period and suggests the Āryanisation of culture. That these Kadambas were originally Brāhmaṇas is clear from the graphic description in the Tāḷagunda inscription Mayūraśarma's conflict with the Pallavas led to their proclaiming themselves as Kshatriyas. Thus, they were Brāhmaṇas by birth and Kshatriyas by profession. All these indicate that the ancestors of Mayūraśarma were originally inhabitants of the north and migrated later on to the south ...".

Although there may be truth in the contention of Gopal that Kadambas were Brāhmaṇa migrants from the north, nothing definite can be said about the exact region in north India whence they hailed. However, there is no evidence to show that the Kadambas had, before Mayūravarma, served under the Sātavāhanas. On the other hand, since the Kadamba records are unanimous in ascribing



the foundation of the Kingdom to Mayūravarma, it would be reasonable to assume only that, at best, Bandhushēṇa, the father of Mayūra, took to Kshatriya profession. Bandhushēṇa's father was Vīraśarma who, as declared by the Kadamba inscriptions, was clearly a Brāhmaṇa even by profession. The change of profession took place during the time of Bandhushēṇa (as implied by the Guḍnāpura record) and the first services of the Kadambas in the capacity of Kshātravṛitti could only be placed during the last years of the Chuṭu-Ānandas and the Pallavas. The change was guided by opportunism and when the time came it was amply rewarded.

Chronology and Genealogy :

One of the burning problems connected with the Kadambas is their chronology. Different scholars have proposed different chronologies. This is because the records of the dynasty are dated in the regnal years of kings and not in fixed eras like the Śaka, Gupta or Ābhīra eras. This creates problems particularly because the number of years ruled by each king cannot be decided with any certainty. Hence in reconstructing the chronology one has to depend on cross references in the records of other major kingdoms of the time like those of the Pallavas and the Gangas. Unfortunately the chronology of these other dynasties is also unsettled and is full

of problems. However, the case with the Kadamba chronology is not hopeless. There are numerous clues which come to the aid of the historian in reconstructing their chronology.

A number of scholars have tried to work out the chronology and genealogy of the Kadambas. More important among them are Govinda Pai,⁶⁶ Fleet,⁶⁷ Moraes,⁶⁸ Lakshminarayana Rao and Panchamukhi,⁶⁹ Desai (et. al.)⁷⁰ and, more recently, Gopal.⁷¹ The last mentioned has discussed numerous latest clues available in respect of Kadamba chronology, but certain conclusions drawn by him are not convincing. Hence the chronology is discussed afresh here in the light of all available evidence.

Let us first list the evidences available along with their implications. (i) The earliest so far known Kadamba record is the Maḷavaḷḷi inscription (No. 2)⁷² of an anonymous king, in all probability of Mayūravarma. It is in Prākṛit. (ii) The second inscription, viz., the Chandravaḷḷi inscription,⁷³ is definitely ascribable to Mayūravarma. It is in Sanskrit.

It would be apparent from the above two inscriptions that Mayūravarma's independent rule commenced at a time when the lower Deccan was in a period of transition from Prākṛit to Sanskrit usage.

(iii) The Tālagunda inscription⁷⁴ of Kākusthavarma records that Mayūravarma fought against the Pallavas, became their feudatory and subsequently having pleased them by his qualities, got himself installed on the throne of Banavāsi with their consent. The same record mentions that he was crowned by Shaḍānana (Skanda or Kārtikēya), who as Ramesh rightly suggests, could be the Pallava king (Śivaskandavarma I)

(iv) Pallava Śivaskandavarma I is known from three Prākṛit charters:⁷⁵

(a) Mayiḍavōlu grant of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarma dated 10th year of his father, Śimhavarma I;

(b) Hirēhaḍagali plates of Mahārāja Śivaskandavarma ⁱⁿ dated his 8th regnal year; and

(c) The British Museum plates of queen Chārudēvī, which mentions him as Vijayaskandavarma. His father, Śimhavarma I, known from Mañchikallu stone inscription (in Prākṛit) near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, is considered responsible for the downfall of the Ikshvākus of Vijayapurī. He is assigned the period C. 315-45 A.D. While his son Śivaskandavarma is supposed to have ruled from C. 345 to 355 A.D.

(v) The Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions a Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī whom he defeated. Vishṇugōpa is not mentioned in the early records of the

Pallava dynasty. Hence his position in the genealogy and chronology of the early Pallava rulers has remained obscure. It is surmised that he was either a son of Simhavarman or his brother who did not rule over the kingdom but only faced the invasion of Samudragupta. The latter's campaigns are assigned to the period between 350-360 A.D. And an important impact of Samudragupta's attack seems to be the introduction of Sanskrit into the lower Deccan.

(vi) The Hirehāḍagali plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarma I dated in his 8th regnal year, speak of him as the performer of Aśvamēdha and other sacrifices. This means that till the 8th year of his rule the region of Bellary (where the record was discovered) was under the Pallavas.

Now if Skandavarma I installed Mayūravarma as an independent ruler of the Banavāsi throne, then it must have happened during the last two years of his reign, i.e., between C. 353 and 355 A.D. This explains the use of Prakṛit for the first Kadamba inscription at Malavalli, dated first regnal year (of Mayūravarma). Hence a date between C. 353 and 355 A.D., is to be assigned for the commencement of independent rule of Mayūravarma. It is not known how long he ruled thereafter. Nor is anything known about the length of the reigns of his successors, Kaṅgavarma, Bhagīratha and Raghavarma. Their reign-periods have therefore to be computed on grounds of

other evidences.

(vii) The Halsi plates of Yuvarāja Kākusthavarma⁷⁶ mentions 80th victorious year. Since Kākusthavarma had not become the monarch yet, it would fall in the reign period of his elder brother Raghu. It is difficult to assign 80 years of rule to one individual king. Hence the year must be taken as commemorating the accession of Mayūravarma to independent rule. Assuming that the accession of Mayūravarma took place in C. 353 A.D. the year 433 A.D. would fall in the reign of Raghuvarma. He might have ruled for few more years, say till C. 440 A.D.

Now about 87 years have to be distributed among 4 kings. Considering Mayūravarma's career, it would appear that he might not have ruled for more than 20 years after becoming independent. Hence it may be assumed that he ruled until C. 370 A.D. His successors may be assigned a period of 27 years each. Therefore, Raghu would have come to throne around C. 420 A.D.

(viii) The Tālagunda inscription indicates that Kākusthavarma had achieved all his greatness at the time when it was composed and that Śāntivarma was actively participating in joint capacity with him in administration. Therefore he must have been considerably aged at that time. Since he came after the rule of his elder brother Raghu, Kākusthavarma can be assigned only about 15 years rule i.e., C. 440-455 A.D.

(ix) The Dēvagiri plates of Mṛigēśavarma,⁷⁷ dated in his 3rd regnal year mentions Pausha as the corresponding year. According to Sircar,⁷⁸ this would correspond to 435 or 472 A.D. We have seen above that 435 A.D. would fall in Raghu's rule. Thus, 472 A.D. should correspond to 3rd regnal year of Mṛigēśavarma, hence indicating the initial year to be 470 A.D. This should be obviously the last year of Śāntivarma's rule also. The last known regnal year of Mṛigēśavarma is the 8th year. He cannot have ruled after 484 A.D. which is, as will be seen below, the first year of Ravivarma's rule. But in between, there was an interruption of rule of Śivamāndhātavarma (whose record of 2nd year is known).⁷⁹ Hence a period of only 10 years has to be assigned to Mṛigēśavarma. This also explains why his brother had to succeed him i.e., because Ravivarma was too young to assume the rulership. Thus Mṛigēśavarma's rule would have come to an end in C. 480 A.D. Between this date and 484 A.D. Śivamāndhātavarma ruled.

(x) The Sangolli plates of Harivarma,⁸⁰ dated in his 8th year of rule, refers to Vishuva, which has been considered by scholars as identical with Tulā-saṅkramaṇa. In the 6th century it could be equated with 507, 526 or 545 A.D.⁸¹ The year 507 A.D. is too early and does not fit into the above mentioned evidences. 545 A.D. appears too late because the Chālukyas had already become inde-

pendent, after defeating the Kadambas, in 543 A.D. Thus, the 526 A.D. would suit with the available evidence ideally. This means that Harivarma commenced his rule in 519 A.D. The last known date of Ravivarma is his 35th year. Counting backwards, his initial rule would correspond to 484 A.D. The last known date of Harivarma is his 8th regnal year, (i.e. 526 A.D.). There is no evidence to show that he ruled any further.

Now let us consider the chronology of the Triparvata line of Kadambas.

(xi) In the 3rd year of rule, Vishṇuvarma claims to have obtained permission from his senior father (uncle) for making a grant.⁸² In the record of 5th year, Śāntivarma and Pallavēndra are stated to have anointed Vishṇuvarma but no dependency of the latter is expressed.⁸³ Hence Śāntivarma's death would have corresponded to the period between the 3rd and 5th regnal year of Vishṇuvarma. Since, as pointed out above, Śāntivarma died in 470 A.D., Vishṇuvarma's first and Kṛishṇavarma I's last year would be 466-67 A.D. His father Kṛishṇavarma I must have ascended the Triparvata throne simultaneously with Śāntivarma i.e. C. 455 A.D.

(xii) Vishṇuvarma was probably killed by Ravivarma in his boyhood.⁸⁴ The latter's rule is known to have commenced from 484 A.D. Vishṇuvarma's death may have taken place a couple of years before, i.e., in C. 482 A.D.

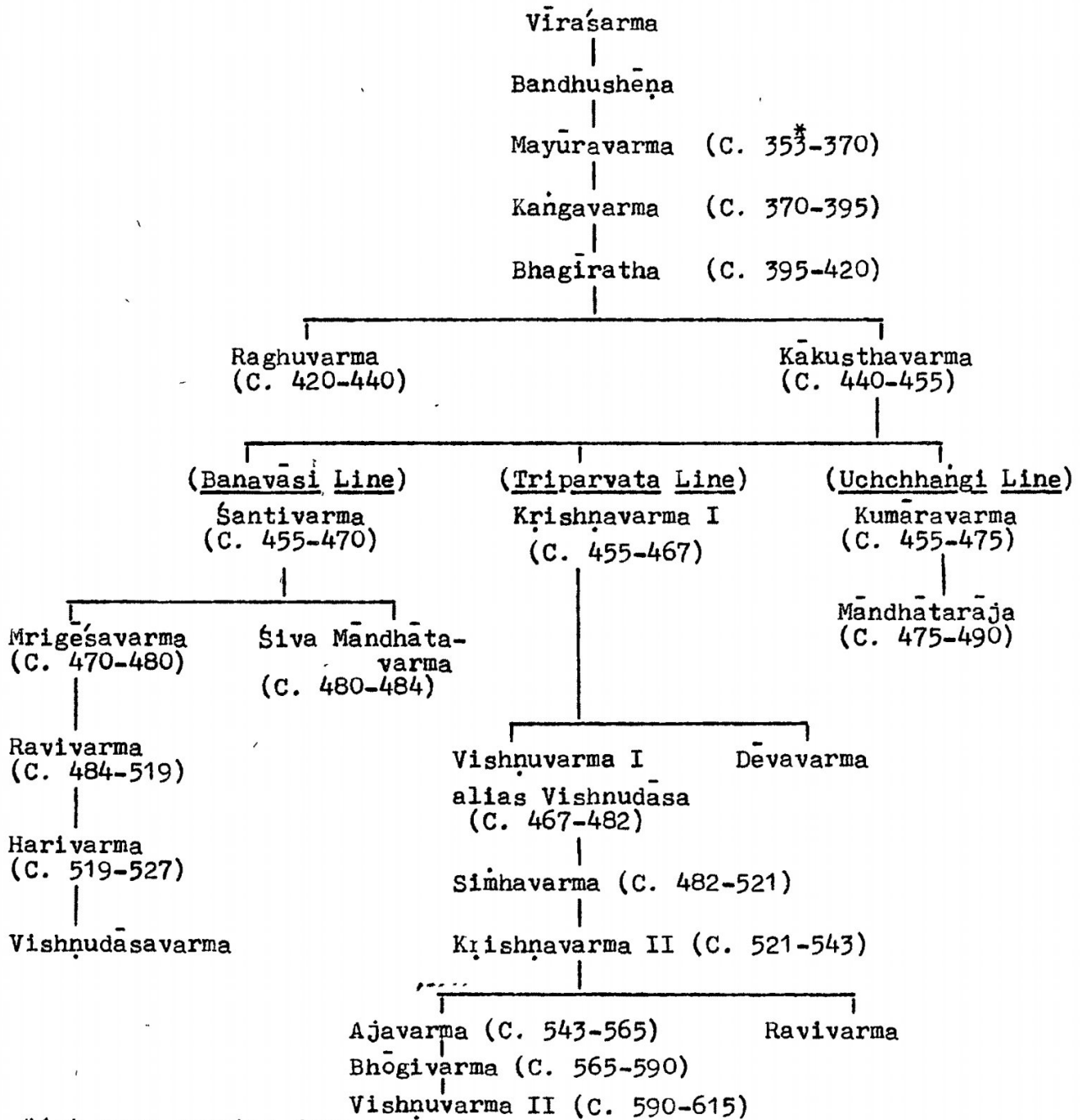
This would be the date of accession of Siṃhavarma also.

(xiii) In his 7th year, Kṛishṇavarma II claims to be ruling from Vaijayantī (i.e. Banavāsī).⁸⁵ That is, either he defeated Harivarma or the latter had passed away by that time. Since there is no evidence to indicate the continuation of Harivarma's rule after 526 A.D., 7th year of Kṛishṇavarma II may be taken to have corresponded to C. 527 A.D. Hence the latter would have commenced his rule from C. 521 A.D. His last known date is his 22nd regnal⁸⁶ year which would correspond to C. 543 A.D. For his successors we may assign about 25 years rule each in the absence of concrete evidence.

(xiv) So far as the Uchchhaṅgi branch of the Kadamba is concerned not much evidence is forthcoming. However, a close observation of the only record of that line and that of Ravivarma reveals the following fact. The donee of the former record was Triyambakasvāmi of Ātrēya-gōtra.⁸⁷ The donee of the Durmaya grant of Ravivarma (in which the latter claims to be in Uchchhaṅgi) was also Triyambakasvāmi of Ātrēya-gōtra.⁸⁸ Obviously, these two were identical. This indicates that not much time had elapsed between Mādhātārāja and Ravivarma. Assigning a period of 20 years' rule to each of the two rulers from C. 455 A.D., it may be observed that Kumāravarma ruled between C. 455-475, and his son Mādhātārāja, between C. 475-490. The line appears to have come to a dead end with the latter.

Reassembling all these evidences, the genealogy and chronology of the early Kadambas may be reconstructed as follows :

THE GENEALOGY OF THE KADAMBAS



*1st year counted from his independent rule.

An Historical Account of the Early Kadambas :

Vīraśarma and Bandhushēṇa :

The Tālagunda inscription⁸⁹ of the time of Kākusthavarma is the most informative record in so far as the beginnings of the Kadamba kingdom are concerned. This record ascribes the founding of the Kadamba kingdom to Mayūravarma. However, from the Guḍnāpura inscription of Ravivarma,⁹⁰ we know about two predecessors of Mayūravarma, viz., Vīraśarma and Bandhushēṇa. In the same inscription Vīrasarma is described as a Brāhmaṇa but his son Bandhushēṇa is credited with the Kshātra mode of life (warrior profession). Obviously, Bandhushēṇa must have become a petty chief of a band of army in the service of the Chuṭu-Ānandas and later under the Pallavas. When Vīraśarma took away his grandson Mayūra to Kāñchī, the latter was a young boy in his teens, endowed with all the intellectual knowledge befitting a Brāhmaṇa. Perhaps, he wished that Mayūra should continue in Brāhmaṇavṛitti unlike his father Bandhushēṇa. Or, more plausibly, he wished Mayūra to know more of the world around to know as to how things in the great kingdoms like those of Kāñchī are run. Thus, the fact that Bandhushēṇa changed his way of life had great consequences for the history of the Kadamba family.

Mayūravarma (C. 353-370) :

The most vivid description of the circumstances leading to the foundation of the Kadamba kingdom is furnished by the Tālagunda inscription. The account may be summarised as follows : "In the Kadamba family ... there was an illustrious Chief of the Brahmana lineage, named Mayrāsarma adorned with the sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest. With his grandfather (guru) Vīrāsarma he went to the city of the Pallava Kings (Kāñchīpura) and eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the ghaṭikā as a mendicant (tarukka). There, engaged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he thought) : Alas, that in this Kali age the Brāhmaṇas should be so much feebler than the Kshatriyas; for, if to one, who has duly served his preceptors family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēdas, attainment of knowledge of Brahman (Brahmasiddhi) is dependent on a king, what can there be more painful than this ? And so, with the hand dexterous in grasping the kuśa grass, the fuel, the stones, the laddle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth".⁹¹

Most scholars⁹² have regarded the aśvamedha sacrifice performed by the Pallava ruler to be the time when Mayūrāsarma had the quarrel with the Pallava horseman. From the Hirehāḍagali plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarma,

it is known that he performed the aśvamēdha sacrifice. Two statements made in the Tālagunda record appear to be significant from this point of view : (i) that Mayūravarma fought with the frontier guards of more than one Pallava king (y=ōntapālānpallavēndrāṇām); and (ii) that Mayūravarma was anointed by Shaḍānana (= Skanda), who was, as rightly suggested by Ramesh, probably the Pallava king (Śiva-)Skandavarma himself. Now if we accept that the 'quarrel-incident' at Kāñchī took place at the time of aśvamēdha sacrifice, it follows that it was within the short period of ten years (C. 345-55), during which Śivaskandavarma ruled, that Mayūra took to arms and succeeded in fulfilling his vow of vengeance. It would also invalidate the statement that Mayūra fought with more than one Pallava king before he succeeded in his venture. But both these are self-contradictory. Hence, it is more probable that the 'quarrel-incident' at Kāñchī took place before the accession of Śivaskandavarma and was not connected with the aśvamēdha sacrifice at all. The incident must have taken place in the reign of Śimhavarma I (C. 315-345 A.D.) probably in the last years of his rule. Thus, Mayūravarma would have come into conflict with Śimhavarma I, Viṣṇugōpa (mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta) and Śivaskandavarma I; and this explains the statements made in the Tālagunda record cited above.

Now, to return to the events after the 'quarrel-

incident'. The Tālagunda record says that Mayūravarma swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava kings and occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata. Obviously, after the incident at Kāñchī he went back to his place and trained himself in martial arts, took the leadership of the small army of his father Bandhushēṇa, recruited more men, and was successful in defeating the frontier guards in surprise attacks. It was possibly around this time that Pallava army under Vishṇugōpa had been humbled by Samudragupta's campaign. The event encouraged Mayūravarma further. He succeeded in extracting taxes from the circle of kings headed by the great Bāṇa. The area subjected to raids by Mayūravarma must have included not only the thick forested region of Malnāḍ but also the lands extending to Śrīparvata, identified with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh), the capital of the Ikshvākus of Vijayapurī. Whenever the Pallavas came in strength to fight him, he opted for guerilla tactics and struck terror to the enemy armies by attacking them like a powerful hawk, in places fit for assault, "in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country".

Ultimately, the Pallavas found it impossible to contain the growing power of Mayūravarma and chose his friendship. The Tālagunda record says that "Then, entering the king's service, he pleased them by his acts of



bravery in battles". Obviously, before being anointed by the Pallava king, he served the Pallavas as their feudatory for some time. Afterwards the Pallavas accepted his independent status and crowned him the king of Vanavāsi. Mayūravarma thus became the lord of the land between the Western Sea and the river Prēhara (identified with the Malaprabhā), which covered approximately the area from the Arabian sea to where the Malaprabhā joins the Bhīmā. As pointed out above, it was probably Śivaskandavarma I who in his last years (obviously after his 8th regnal year) recognised Mayūravarma's independent status.

There are two inscriptions which can be ascribed to Mayūravarma. The anonymous Kadamba king of Maḷavalli record No. 2, as has already been mentioned, was Mayūravarma himself. It is in Prākṛit and dated in his first regnal year. It records the restoration of earlier grants made to god Maḷlapaḷḷidēva by Śivaskandavarma obviously to commemorate the event of his independent rule. The second record, viz. the Chandravalli inscription, is in Sanskrit and records repairs effected to a tank in his reign. It mentions a person named Chama from Kuṇṇa (= Koppaḷ in Raichur District). These two records help us decide the extent of Mayūravarma's kingdom. Apparently it included in addition to the western districts of North Kanara and Shimoga, the

districts of Raichur, Beḷḷāry, Chitradurga, Belgaum, Bijapūr and Dhārwaḍ. Legends in the South Kanara region also aver that that region was ruled by Mayūravarma. It is ^{not} unlikely that there may be an amount of truth in these legends.⁹³

Mayūravarma was obviously a great and gifted ruler. From the status merely of a Brāhmaṇa, having attained scholarship in Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, he entertained ambition and strived hard to fulfil it with little resources at his disposal. Hence he raised his family to the level of a ruling dynasty. He is the first known Karnataka king to have introduced Sanskrit as the official language. When he died, he must have died with satisfaction towards what he had achieved during his life-time.

Kaṅgavarma, Bhagīratha and Raghu (C. 370-440) :

Mayūravarma was succeeded by Kaṅgavarma (C. 370-395), Bhagīratha (C. 395-420) and Raghu (C. 420-440), in that order. No records of these kings have come to light so far. And we have to depend on Tāḷagunda and Guḍnāpura epigraphs for information about their rule.

Kaṅgavarma is mentioned in the Tāḷagunda record⁹⁴ as having "performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars" and that his "diadem was shaken by the white

chowries of all the chiefs of the districts, who bowed down". The Guḍṇāpura epigraph⁹⁵ says that he "always used to destroy the constitution of the kingdoms (rājyāṅga) of the enemies". From these statements we can only surmise that Kaṅgavarma was a great warrior, enjoyed the subordination of feudatory chiefs, and was an able statesman. Four gold padmaṭaṅkas found in the Satāra hoard are stated to have the legend Skandha which some scholars have taken to be a mistake for Kaṅga.⁹⁶ But nothing certain can be inferred from this evidence, even if the surmise is true.

Kaṅgavarma was succeeded by Bhagīratha on the Kadamba throne. In the words of the Tāḷagunda record, he was "the one lord, dear to the bride, the Kadamba country, Sagara's chief descendant in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king". He was, according to the Guḍṇāpura epigraph, "a king well acquainted with truth, valour, dignity, learning and arts". A coin in the St. Xavier College Museum, Bombay, which has several punches and the legends Śrī and Bhagī, has been ascribed to this king.

The next ruler in the line was Raghu, son of Bagīratha. The Tāḷagunda record belongs to his brother Kākustha. But it gives tributes to him only in a few ambiguous statements. He was "honoured by kings", was

the earth's highly prosperous ruler... of wide-spread fame". He was undefeated by groups of enemy kings on the battle-field and was like Raghu in valour, might, intelligence and virtues". These statements, however, can lead us no where so far as political achievements of Raghu are concerned. In his pursuits in war he must have been aided by his brother Kākusthavarma. The Halsi plates of Yuvarāja Kākusthavarma record that his general Śrutakīrti was rewarded with lands in the village of Khēṭa for having saved the Yuvarāja. This record obviously belongs to the last years of Raghu's reign and since there is no mention of the ruling king, probably much of the administrative affairs of the kingdom were being looked after by Kākustha himself. The record also shows that Palāsikā (= Halsi, Khānāpūr Taluk, Belgaum District) had already become a place of importance and plausibly the second capital of the Kadambas. Hence having placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of Kākusthavarma, Raghu must have led a peaceful life towards the close of his reign. The information contained about him in the Tāḷagunda record that he was "well-versed in the ways of sacred lore, a poet, a donor, skilled in manifold arts and beloved of the people" therefore, need not be doubted at all. The reason probably was that he had no male issue to continue his line. At his death, the kingdom passed on to his younger brother Kākusthavarma.

Kākusthavarma (C. 440-455) :

After Raghu, the Tālagunda record states that his brother and Bhagīratha's son Kākusthavarma succeeded to the Kadamba throne. The poet appears to have deliberately mentioned Kākusthavarma's father's name (Bhagīratha) in order to convey that he was not born of the same wife of Bhagīratha as did Raghu.

The Halsi plates dated in 80th year of victory refer to Kākusthavarma as Yuvarāja. As already pointed out above, king Raghu is not mentioned in that record. But an interesting reference is made in it that the Yuvarāja had been saved his life by Sēnāpati Śrutakīrti. Gopal has suggested that since Raghu was not a co-uterine brother of Kākustha there might have been some misunderstanding between the two resulting in a conflict in which Kākustha might have been saved by Sēnāpati Śrutakīrti.⁹⁷ But there is no scope for such a surmise at all. As clearly indicated by the Tālagunda record, though Raghu was a commendable warrior, he was a peace-loving king. And Kākustha, as stated in the same record, was "kind to his lineage". Since Raghu had no male offspring, it was clear that Kākustha would be the heir-apparent and, as such, there would have been no need for any conflict between the two brothers. If such a conflict had taken place it would have meant the asserting

of independence by Kākusthavarma, if not the death of Raghu at the hands of his brother. On the contrary, Kākusthavarma claims to be still a Yuvarāja in the Halsi plates, thereby indicating that Raghu's rule had continued. From the Tālagunda record, we come to know of Kākustha's war with stronger ^{foes} and it is possible that these wars had taken place when he was a Yuvarāja. Probably in one of those wars Kākustha might have been put into an awkward position when the commander of the army, Śrutakīrti, came to his rescue.

Hence, it would appear that all the time when his brother Raghu was the ruler, Kākusthavarma as Yuvarāja had been assisting him in administration, waging wars against the enemies to strengthen the basement of the Kadamba kingdom and making himself adept in the craft of statesmanship. But for the figurative statements made in the Tālagunda record that to him "war with the stronger ... (etc.) were the rational ornament of a ruler ...", that his "Kinsmen who were waylaid by the stronger" found shelter in his territory and that "the crest jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down while he was sitting quite ...", nothing is known about Kākusthavarma's military exploits. The only record of some interest in this regard is the Halmiḍi inscription⁹⁸ of his time. It is stated therein that when Kākusthabhaṭṭāra of Kadamba family was ruling the kingdom, there was a war between the Pallavas and Kēkayas on the one

hand and the Kadambas, Sēndrakas and Bāṇas on the other, in which the former party was defeated by Viṇa-arasa, son of Ellabhaṭāri in the raid conducted by Paśupati of Bhaṭāri family, the chief of Aḷapagaṇa. We may therefore assume that one of the engagements between the armies of the Pallavas and their allies Kēkayas with the Bāṇas and Sēndrakas (the allies of the Kadambas) took place in Kākusthavarma's reign and that the latter emerged victorious in the combat.

Another menace which Kākustha had to face during his rule was that of the Kaḷabhras. The Halmiḍi inscription describes Kākustha as the enemy of Kaḷabhras (Kaḷabhōraṇā-ari). The Kaḷabhras were the chiefs who occupied the Pāṇḍya kingdom and threatened the Pallavas of Kāñchī in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.⁹⁹ Probably Kākusthavarma had to fight them repeatedly and the battles were indecisive without any territorial loss or gain to the Kadambas. Hence the Halmiḍi inscription is content to describe Kākustha only as the enemy of Kaḷabhras. When this record was written, the combats of Kākustha with the Kaḷabhras were plausibly still continuing.

The Tāḷagunda record, however, is clearer on Kākusthavarma's policy of matrimonial alliances which kept the kingdom in peace and raised the prestige of the Kadamba family. "This sun of a king", says the record, "by means of his rays - his daughters caused to

expend the splendid lotus groups - the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (for him) and which were cherished by many bees - the kings (who served them)".

There are some indirect evidences to show that the Kadambas had matrimonial alliances with the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. A verse purported to be from Kālidāsa's Kuntalēśvaradautya and cited by Kshēmendra, Bhōja and Rājasēkhara in their works,¹⁰⁰ implies that a king of Kuntalas left the administration in the hands of a Gupta King, probably Vikramāditya, and spent his days in pursuit of pleasure. The king of Kuntala is identified by Mirashi to be the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dēvarāja of Mānapura.¹⁰¹ But Sircar felt¹⁰² that Kuntala "was undoubtedly the district around Banavāsi in the Kanarese area" and should not be identified with the area around Mānapura. That would attribute the relevance of Kālidāsa's verse to a Kadamba king. If the Gupta king was Vikramāditya (376-414 A.D.), the contemporary Kadamba king would be Raghuvarma. Since the latter had no male issue and was probably a peace loving king with his brother Kākusthavarma to look after the administration, it is possible that he contracted matrimonial alliance of the Gupta king by offering a daughter of his brother Kākusthavarma in marriage, either to Chandragupta II or to his son Kumāragupta. However, there is no confirmatory evidence to

this surmise. In any case, the Tālagunda record is clear in regard to the matrimonial alliance between Kākusthavarma and the Gupta family, and it is equally possible that the alliance took place in the reign period of Kākusthavarma himself. The more competent claimants to this alliance among the Gupta kings, so far as the present evidence goes, are Kumaragupta I (415-55) and his son Skandagupta (455-67).

Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, wife of Narēndrasēna (C. 450-70) of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas, is described as a daughter of Kuntalādhipa. Mirashi regards her to be a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Avidhēya.¹⁰³ We have seen above that the Kuntala region is to be identified with the region around Banavāsi according to many scholars. Hence it is more likely that Ajjihitabhaṭṭārikā was a daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarma as the circumstantial evidence goes to indicate.

Another matrimonial relation which Kākusthavarma might have had with a feudatory family called Bhaṭṭarīkula is evidenced in a short epigraph from Tālagunda.¹⁰⁴ This record is palaeographically ascribed to the same period as the Tālagunda record composed by Kubja. It refers to Lakshmī, of a Kadamba family who was the mother of Kākustha of Bhaṭṭarivamsa. Obviously, this person Kākustha was the son of the daughter of Kadamba Kākusthavarma after whom he had been named. It is indicated in

the same record that the husband of Lakshmī was Paśupati. From the Halmiḍi inscription of the time of Kākusthavarma, we know of a Paśupati of Bhaṭari family, probably the chief of Aḷapagaṇa (or the Āḷupas). Thus, circumstantial evidence goes in favour of identity of Paśupati of the Tāḷagunda record with that of the Halmiḍi inscription. In that case, it would follow that Kadamba Kākusthavarma had given his daughter Lakshmī in marriage to his feudatory Paśupati of the Bhaṭari family, plausibly related to the Āḷupas.

Yet another matrimonial contract between the Kadamba king and the Punnāṭa chiefs is hinted at by the records of the latter. Punnāṭa or Pūmrāshṭra was the region between the rivers Kāvērī and Kapinī in South Karnataka. Rāshṭravarma, the ruler of Punnāṭa is stated to have married Kadamba Prabhāvatī of the Hārīta family. Considering the contemporaneity of this ruler with Kākusthavarma, it may be deduced that Prabhāvatī was the daughter of Kākusthavarma.¹⁰⁵

From the records of Gaṅga Avinīta, it is known that he was the son of Mādhava III (C. 445-460 A.D.) by the sister of Kṛishṇavarma I (the performer of Aśvamēdha) of the Kadamba family.¹⁰⁶ It would be logical to conclude, therefore, that Kākusthavarma had a daughter by the same wife by whom Kṛishṇavarma I had been born to him. The Gaṅgas were, in fact, inimical to the Kadambas from quite

the beginning of their rule as the former were close allies of the Pallavas. But probably during the time of Kākusthavarma, they buried the hatchet through matrimonial alliance. It will be of interest to know that the Halmiḍi inscription does not mention the Gaṅgas in the list of the dynasties who acted as enemies of the Kadamba allies. This probably indicates that the Gaṅgas remained neutral in the war between the Pallavas and the Kadambas in the time of Kākusthavarma.

Some feudatory families under subordination to Kākusthavarma can be known from the contemporary records. The most important among them were the Bāṇas and the Sēndrakas. Both these were trusted subordinates of the Kadambas, right from the time when Mayūravarma had reduced them to that status. They are mentioned in the Halmiḍi inscription as having fought on behalf of the Kadambas. Another family was that of the Bhaṭṭāris who were probably the same as, or chiefs of, the Āḷupas. The Kēkayas had remained with the Pallavas in their anti-Kadamba activities at least until the Halmiḍi record was written. But soon after, they appear to have become cordial because, as known from the Aṇaji stone epigraph, Kākusthavarma's son Kṛishṇavarman I married the daughter of the Kēkaya chief.

The Tāḷagunda inscription summarises in an excellent way the personality of Kākusthavarma as an illustrious

ruler. It states that to him "war with stronger, compassion for the needy, proper protection of the people, relief of the distressed, honour paid to the chief twice-born by (bestowal of) pre-eminent wealth were the rational ornament of a ruler". These indeed are the qualities of an ideal ruler. The fact that "in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut (and) which gaily resumed with music, the Lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long" amply testifies to the prosperity which Karnataka enjoyed during his time. That he was a benevolent king is again witnessed in the fact that he caused to be made a reservoir for "the abundant supply of water" in Tāḷagunda.

In the last years of his rule, Kākusthavarma associated his son, Śāntivarma, with the administration of the kingdom. The Tāḷagunda inscription states that the poem of Kubja was engraved on stone by the commands of king Śāntivarma, thereby indicating the latter's active participation in the affairs of the state. This was probably due to the fact that Kākusthavarma had grown old when the Tāḷagunda praśasti of Kākusthavarma was composed by Kubja.

Kākusthavarma left behind at least two sons when he passed away. Śāntivarma, the elder son, had been

styled the king already when his father was alive. The younger son by another wife was Kṛishṇavarma I, who inaugurated the regime of another branch of the Kadambas simultaneously with Śāntivarma of the main line. It is suggested by some scholars that Kumāravarma, father of Māndhātārāja of Shiv^amogga plates could be another son of Kākusthavarma. Probably he started a third branch of the Kadambas with capital at Uchchhāṅgi which, however, does not seem to have lasted long.

Śāntivarma (C. 455-470 A.D.) :

After Kākusthavarma's passing away, Śāntivarma ascended the throne of the main branch of the Kadambas at Banavāsi. More or less simultaneously Kṛishṇavarma I, son of Kākusthavarma by a Kēkaya princess, declared his independent rule probably with Triparvata as his capital. And, perhaps, another branch of the Kadambas commenced its rule from Uchchhāṅgi (in Bellary District) started by Kumāravarma. This arrangement appears to have had the consent of Kākusthavarma when he was alive, because no direct combat seems to have taken place between these families except in the last years of the reign of Śāntivarma. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that Śāntivarma actively assisted Kṛishṇavarma's son Vishṇuvarma to ascend the throne possibly against one of his brothers. It is quite interesting to note that so far no epigraph assignable to the first kings of these

new branches - Śāntivarma, Kṛishṇavarma I, or Kumāravarma - has come to light. However, a spurious record from Beḍkihāl purports to belong to Śāntivarma's reign but furnishes totally contradicting information and hence cannot be taken into account at all.

As indicated by the Tālagunda record, Śāntivarma was already actively associated in administration of the state during the last years of Kākusthavarma. But because of the lack of his own records, nothing better can be known about his achievements and personality than the information supplied by the records of his successors.

In the records of his successors, Śāntivarma is referred to also as Śāntivara. The Halsi plates of Mṛigēśavarma¹⁰⁷ credit him with "having enticed the goddess Lakshmī from the abode of his enemies". This probably indicates some sort of trouble that may have arisen during his reign which he might have overcome. The fact that in his own son's records often Kākusthavarma is referred to while at times Śāntivarma is not even mentioned indicates that the latter had little achievements, if any, to boast of. In the Guḍnāpur inscription of Ravivarma,¹⁰⁸ it is stated that Śāntivarma "as his name, was for the peace of his subjects (and) had more virtues than other lords of the earth".

From the inscriptions of Vishṇuvarma, son of Kṛishṇavarma I of the Tripurvata branch of the Kadambas,

some information can be gleaned about Śāntivarma's reign. In the Herbata grant of that king,¹⁰⁹ dated in his 5th regnal year, he is stated to have been anointed by Śāntivaramahārāja-Pallavēndra (Śāntivaramahārāja Pallavēndr-ābhishiktēna). This statement had been translated as Śāntivaramahārāja the Pallava king. But Mahalingam has suggested¹¹⁰ that the statement can be better rendered as Śāntivaramahārāja and Pallavēndra (i.e., the Pallava king). This seems to be a more acceptable interpretation of the relevant line of the record. In that case, Śāntivaramahārāja has to be identified with Śāntivarma himself. The Bīrūr plates of Vishṇuvarma,¹¹¹ dated in his 3rd regnal year, mention that the king made the grant after taking the consent of his senior father (i.e., uncle) Śāntivarma-dharma-mahārāja, who is described as the master of the entire Kārṇāṭa country (Vaijayantī-tilaka-samagra-Kārṇāṭa-dēśa-bhū-vargga-bharttārām jyēshtha-Pītaram Śrī-Śāntivaravarmma-dharmma-mahārāja). The genuineness of the record is suspected, but the information given therein does not appear to be faulty. If we are to believe this statement contained in the record, it follows that the Tripurvata branch of the Kadambas under Vishṇuvarma recognised at least the nominal suzerainty of Śāntivarma till the former's 3rd regnal year. This must be due to some magnanimous gesture taken by Śāntivarma for placing Vishṇuvarma on the throne of Tripurvata against his adversary, probably Dēvavarma,

after the death of Kṛishṇavarma I. This must be around C. 467 A.D., i.e., 3 years before the date of Bīrūr plates, since Śāntivarma is known to have passed away around C. 470 A.D. Since the Pallava king was also involved in the coronation of Viṣṇuvarma, it would appear that Śāntivarma and the Pallava ruler had joined hands at least for some time. On the ground of Aṇaji stone epigraph, Gopal has speculated that Kṛishṇavarma I "revolted against his elder brother Śāntivarma who probably sought help of the Pallava king while Śivanandanavarma, the Kēkaya chief stood by his son-in-law (Kṛishṇavarma I). Though Kṛishṇavarma was defeated, he was not routed. This only resulted in a split between the two brothers". He further says that, "once again, probably during the last years, there was a conflict between his elder son Viṣṇuvarma and Dēvavarma when Śāntivarma as also the Pallava came to Viṣṇuvarma's assistance and with their help Viṣṇuvarma started to rule over the territories of his father".¹¹² However, we beg to differ from this view. The Aṇaji epigraph¹¹³ informs that Śivanandanavarma of Kēkaya family, "at the ruin of his country (when) the army of Kṛishṇavarma got defeated in the tumultuous battle fought between Nanakkāsa Pallavarāja and Kṛishṇavarमारāja" unable to face humiliation renounced the world. Śivanandanavarma was father-in-law of Kṛishṇavarma I. It appears from the description of the battle fought between the Pallavas and Kṛishṇavarma I

and its outcome that it was no mean a disaster for the latter. It seems possible that Kṛishṇavarma I also lost his life in the battle. The battle had possibly ensued because of the ambitious designs of Kṛishṇavarma I against the Vaijayantī throne as well as the other neighbouring powers like the Pallavas. Hence it is not unlikely that Śāntivarma either took stance of neutrality or joined hands with the Pallavas. Obviously, owing to the death of Kṛishṇavarma I, the Pallavas proceeded further along with Śāntivarma and having subdued Dēvavarma (the beloved son of Kṛishṇavarma I), enthroned Viṣṇuvarma at Tripurvata as successor of Kṛishṇavarma. And this explains why Viṣṇuvarma took consent of his senior-father before he made the Bīrūr grant and describes Śāntivarma as the lord of Karnāṭa. Gopal states that Śāntivarma predeceased his brother Kṛishṇavarma I.¹¹⁴ But the evidence of Viṣṇuvarma's record clearly indicates that Śāntivarma survived at least for three more years after his brother's death. And after the battle referred to in the Aṇaji epigraph, Śāntivarma must have brought Prabhāvatī, a Kēkaya princess, in marriage to his son Mṛigēśavarma who became the mother of Ravivarma. Eight years after Śāntivarma's death his son erected a Jinālaya at Halsi (Belgaum District) in his memory.¹¹⁵

Mrigēśavarama (C. 470-480 A.D.) :

So far nine records of Mrigēśavarma, also referred to as Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigēśavarma, ranging from his second to eighth regnal years, have come to light. In his grants dated 2nd¹¹⁶ and the 3rd regnal years¹¹⁷ he is credited with no specific achievements, but he is said to have "achieved brilliant and steadfast courage in battle". The Dēvagiri plates of his 4th year¹¹⁸ state that the year had been "productive of victory and long life and health and wealth" and that he had "achieved great wealth by the strength and prowess of his own arm in great stress of war". This might mean that between the 3rd and 4th years Mrigēśavarma had to fight wars. From the Halsi plates of his 8th year,¹¹⁹ we come to know against whom he was actually engaged in wars. This epigraph speaks of him as having "uprooted the family of the Tuṅga-Gaṅga" and as "a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas". The Banavāsi inscription¹²⁰ gives a more vivid picture of the position. It is stated therein that Mrigēśa put down "the passionate pride and arrogance of the Gaṅga king who was the means of victory, at the command of the Lord of Kāñchi". It is also stated there that Mrigēśa took away the goddess of victory from the Pallava king who had earned it by experiencing great sorrow right from his birth, just as (Dāśarathi-Rāma) did that of (Paraśurāma). Apparently, the attempts of Mrigēśavarma at

curbing the authority of the Gaṅgas (who acted against the Kadambas at the instance of the Pallavas) and of the Pallavas met with great success in the closing years of his reign. Probably the Gaṅga king Avinīta was his adversary. The word Tuṅga used in the Halsi and Banavāsi inscriptions is taken by some scholars as indicating the conflict of the Kadambas with early Rāshtrakūṭas.¹²¹ Gopal, however, thinks that it is simply used as an adjective for the Gaṅgas, thereby meaning 'great' Gaṅgas.¹²² This view seems to be correct.

Mr̥igēśavarma does not appear to have lived long after his 8th regnal year. Possibly he passed away within a couple of years around C. 480 A.D. At the time of his death, his son Ravivarma must have been too young to shoulder the burden of the kingdom. From the Kūḍagere plates,¹²³ it is known that a king named Śiva-Māndhātṛivarma ruled from Vaijayantī. On the grounds of the analogy of his name with that of Mr̥igēśavarma and the palaeography of the record this king has been regarded as the brother and successor of Mr̥igēśavarma.

Mr̥igēśavarma was obviously a great king of the Kadamba dynasty. His greatness as warrior is clearly revealed in his victories over his Pallava and Gaṅga adversaries. His reign was full of concern but he overcame the difficulties before the end of his career. The Dēvagiri plates give a picturesque description of his

personality.¹²⁴ He was a pious great king. His "great and noble mind busied itself in learning and investigating the true meaning of the several sacred writings which effect that which is pleasant and beneficial in both the worlds". He had "properly exercised in many sports comprising the riding on elephants and horses and the use of weapons and other things". He was "clever, skillful, expert in the art of Government and in the propriety of conduct" and "acquired great and steadfast courage in many fights." "He was possessed of noble intellect and firmness, courage and liberality", and "achieved great wealth by the strength and prowess of his own arm in great stress of war". He was "devoted to properly protecting his subjects" and "constant in making gifts of cows, land, gold, couches, clothing and food ... to gods and Brāhmaṇas and spiritual preceptors and holy men". His "great wealth was being enjoyed equally by learned men and his friends and kinsmen". These are indeed well deserved tributes to the great king that was Mṛigēśavarma.

A few officers of the reign of Mṛigēśavarma are known from his records : Bhōjaka Dāmakīrti,¹²⁵ Sēnāpati Naravara,¹²⁶ Kīrtivara,¹²⁷ and aśvayuktaka Jayanta.¹²⁸

Mṛigēśavarma, as already pointed out above, had married, Prabhāvatī, a Kēkaya princess, who gave birth to Ravivarma. She is referred to in a Tālagunda inscription.¹²⁹ Mṛigēśavarma must have died quite early in

age. His brother Śiva-Mādhātṛivarṇa succeeded him and ruled until Ravivarṇa came of age.

Śiva-Mādhātṛivarṇa (C. 480-484) :

The only known record of this king is the Kūḍagere epigraph¹³⁰ dated in his 2nd regnal year. Like Mṛigēśavarṇa, he also had the epithet Vijaya-Śiva. Nothing is known about his political career. He appears to have ruled only for a short period of about four or five years. As already pointed out above, his succession had been probably caused by the under-age of Ravivarṇa. Around 484 A.D., he either passed away or abdicated the throne in favour of the rightful heir Ravivarṇa, son of Mṛigēśavarṇa.

Ravivarṇa (C. 484-519 A.D.) :

At the time of his death, Mṛigēśavarṇa had left behind at least three sons Ravivarṇa, Bhānuvarṇa and Śivaratha all of whom were too young to ascend the throne. After a brief interval of about five years, Ravivarṇa having come of age, succeeded to the throne of Vaijayantī. Good number of records of this king have been discovered but only three, viz., the undated Halsi plates, the Dāvanagere plates of 34th year and the Guḍnāpur pillar inscription, are important from the point of view of the

political events of his reign.

The Halsi plates refer to Ravivarma¹³¹ as having conquered Kāñchīśvara-chaṇḍadaṇḍa and having slain Vishṇuvarma and other kings. "Chaṇḍadaṇḍa" has been taken to be the name of the Pallava king but recently Ramesh has suggested that it should be taken to mean a "fierce army" (i.e., fierce army of the king of Kāñchī, the Pallava). The suggestion seems acceptable since no Pallava king bearing the name of 'Chaṇḍadaṇḍa' is known otherwise. His Pallava adversary could be either Skandavarma IV or Nandivarman I. The Guḍṇāpur inscription¹³² states that he killed Vishṇudāsa in his boyhood and another Bālarāja. Vishṇudāsa of the Guḍṇāpur record and Vishṇuvarma of the Halsi plates are apparently identical. Ramesh has suggested¹³³ that he might be Pallava Vishṇugōpa. Gopal, however, feels that: "if he is taken to be the younger brother of Simhavarma II Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa, he cannot be bāla-rāja. But this Vishṇugōpa started a collateral line of Pallavas of whom only three - himself, his son Simhavarma and grandson Vishṇugōpa, ruled. It is quite possible that it was this latter Vishṇugōpa, who was in all probability quite young, that was killed by Ravivarma".¹³⁴ But Gopal seems to have taken Vishṇudāsa and bāla-rāja to be identical while making the above suggestion. However, the Guḍṇāpur record implies that they were two different individuals.

Hence Gopal's suggestion appears to be unwarranted. However we feel that Vishṇudāsa or Vishṇuvarma killed by Ravivarma (when he was still young) was probably his namesake of the Triparvata branch of the Kadambas. He is known by both the names (Vishṇuvarma and Vishṇudāsa) in the records of that branch. Possibly that king tried in vain to establish his suzerainty over the main branch taking advantage of the young age of Ravivarma and was killed by the latter. The identification of the Bāla rāja, however, remains moot.

The Guḍṇāpur inscription gives a list of dynasties which were subdued by Ravivarma. These were Gaṅga, Punnāṭa, Koṅgālva, Fāṇḍya, Ālupa and other kings. Unfortunately the kings are not mentioned by their name. His Gaṅga contemporary was almost certainly Avinīta. He had married the daughter of Punnāṭa king Skandavarma II who must also have been a contemporary of Ravivarma. Bhujaṅga, father of Skandavarma II, is stated to have married a daughter of Siṃhavarma. Gopal has suggested that the last mentioned could be Kadamba Siṃhavarma of Triparvata line.¹³⁵ Since it poses some chronological problems, we cannot agree with this view. He could as well be Pallava Siṃhavarman of Vishṇugōpa line. In any case, Gaṅga Avinīta and Punnāṭa Skandavarma II may be regarded as the adversaries who suffered reverses at the hands of Ravivarma. It is difficult to say who the



Pāṇḍya and Koṅgāḷva chiefs were. The Āḷupas had allied themselves with the Kadambas in the reign of Kākusthavarma. But they appear to have tried to declare independence during Ravivarma's rule and they were subdued. The Dāvaṇagere plates of Ravivarma¹³⁶ state that he was able to take the Kundagiri fort which Panchamukhi has identified with Kanhēri.¹³⁷ It is also stated there that king Raghu had earlier tried in vain to take that fort. The same record also mentions that "the earth, upto the Narmadā, depending herself on this clever king in fullness of joy like Lakshmī abiding in the chest of Vishṇu...". It is difficult to ascertain if this claim is only a boast. However, if the identification of Kundagiri with Kanhēri is correct, then it would have to be supposed that Ravivarma did occupy considerable area of northern Deccan before his 34th regnal year (i.e. C. 518 A.D.).

In the Durmāya grant of Ravivarma,¹³⁸ it is stated that he was at Uchchhaśringi while making the grant. The donee Trayāmbakasvāmi of Ātreya-gōtra is the same as the one figuring in the Shimogga plates of Māndhātārāja (son of Kumāravarma of Kadamba family)¹³⁹ whose capital also was Uchchhaśringi. Obviously, not many years must have elapsed between Māndhātārāja and Ravivarma. It appears that the Uchchhaṅgi branch of the Kadambas came to a dead end with Māndhātārāja and that Ravivarma was shrewd enough to lay his claim to that kingdom either by peaceful means or by use of arms.

In the Kuntagaṇi plates,¹⁴⁰ dated in 12th regnal year of the king, Ravivarma is stated to be in Pāntipura (modern Hāṅgal, Dharwad District). Thus it appears that by the time of Ravivarma, Hāṅgal had become an important subsidiary capital of the Kadambas. It would be worth recalling here that, this place served as the headquarters of the feudatory Kadambas during the time of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

In the Honnāvar plates of the Kēkaya chief Chitra-sēnakella,¹⁴¹ dated in his first year, refers to the rule of Ravi-Mahārāja, obviously the Kadamba king. The Kēkaya chiefs must have been ruling over the region around Honnāvar (North Kanara District) as feudatories.

The recently discovered Kelagundli (Shimoga District) inscription¹⁴² of the time of Ravivarma refers to a Malligearasa. From the findspot of the inscription, it may be surmised that this was a local chieftain ruling over the area around Kelagundli, in the Sorab taluk of Shivamogga District.

The Kavaḍi (Sorab Taluk, Shivamogga District) stone inscription¹⁴³ refers to the passing away of queen of (?) Ravivarma, son of Mṛigēśa. Rice has suggested that she committed sati upon the death of Ravivarma. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out, it remains only a surmise.

A few officers of Ravivarma's reign can be known

from his inscriptions. From the Halsi plates (11th year) Bhōjaka Pandara is known.¹⁴⁴ Ravivarma's brother Bānu-varma^{rāja} was probably in charge of Palāsikā (Halsi) for at least some time. Nīlakaṇṭha-dēsāmātya was the physician of the king.¹⁴⁵ Śrīkīrti and Pratīhāra Jayakīrti are known from the Halsi plates.¹⁴⁶ A Haridatta figures in the Dāvaṅgere plates (year 34)¹⁴⁷ and it is possible that like Dāmōdaradatta of the Kūḍagere plates,¹⁴⁸ he was rahasyādhikṛita (private secretary). Jinanandī-sēnāpati's son Simha-sēnāpati, figures in the Honnāvar plates,¹⁴⁹ but he is likely to be working under Chitra-sēna-Mahākella of Kēkaya family.

Ravivarma was evidently a great king of the Kadam-bas. If there is any truth in the boasts made in his records that his kingdom extended as far north as the Narmadā (and there is no reason to think otherwise), the Kadamba kingdom had reached its zenith during his reign. And he is justified in his claim that he "occupied the highest peak on the mountain of the spotless Kadamba race like the sun shining with pride on the top of the Udaya mountain". His personality and achievements are well summed up by the Dāvaṅgere plates :¹⁵⁰ The king (Ravi) is himself Viṣṇu in disguise, conqueror of wicked men, who has appeared giving up his discus ... Although being in his kingdom, the good king is never swayed by pride ... The city of Vaijayantī, under the king Ravi, with its beautiful garlands ever stirring, surpasses in

splendour even the capital of Dēvēndra (Amarāvati). The goddess of wealth dwelling even in the breast of Viṣṇu did not feel so pleased as she did while remaining as a slave in the arms of Ravi and enjoying the fragrance of the sandal paste thereon. The universe has as her lord this king well-versed in polity, like the heaven having as her master Indra ...". The Guḍnāpur epigraph adds : "He was an expert in wielding weapons like the clubs and spears and efficient in riding horses and also elephants. He developed devotion towards the Nīti (work) of Viṣṇugupta and Subandhu ... which are considered the main streams of success in both the worlds ... His subjects, in his kingdom having engaged in their pursuits according to their dharma were devoid of fear and indulged in donations and pleasures ...".

Harivarma (C. 519-527 A.D.) :

Ravivarma must have ruled for considerably long period of about 35 years. His son Harivarma succeeded him to the throne at Vaijayantī. Four records of this king are known and the last record is dated in his 8th regnal year. His Halsi plates of 4th regnal¹⁵¹ year state that he was at Uchchhaśringi in that year, while the Halsi plates of the 5th year¹⁵² refer to him as being in Palāsikā (Halsi, Belgaum District). The remaining two records, both dated in 8th year, refer to his rule from Vaijayantī.¹⁵³ In none of these records Harivarma lays

claim to any political achievement. On the other hand, in the record dated in his 4th year,¹⁵⁴ it is stated that "(he) being kindly disposed towards his subjects, acquired through pious acts performed by him in many (previous) states of existence, a sovereignty that was free from all troubles", thereby implying a peaceful atmosphere during his reign. His reign thus appears to have enjoyed peace and prosperity inherited by the achievements of his father Ravivarma. Hence we find Harivarma described in his records as "verily like the Dharmarāja", "his pure fame having sprung in all directions, engaged in the protection of the subjects, with a body sanctified by traditional learning and condescension, devoted in the service of the twice-born (of all the three classes)".

During his reign, he appears to have enjoyed the co-operation of his relatives and feudatories. His father's brother, Śivaratha, was probably placed in charge of the region around Uchchhaśringi,¹⁵⁵ The Sēndrakas, the trusted feudatories of the Kadamba right from the time of Mayūravarma, continued their allegiance. Bhānusaṅgi was their chief during Harivarma's reign.¹⁵⁶ Harivarma's commander-in-chief, Viśṇudāsaṅgi is referred to in his Mahā-Maṇapalli grant.¹⁵⁷

It appears that Harivarma had underestimated the capabilities of his contemporary, Kṛṣṇavarman II of the Triparvata branch of the Kadambas. In his 7th regnal year,

Krishnavarma II claims to be ruling as dharma-mahārāja from Vaijayantī.¹⁵⁸ This must have happened either through the use of arms or because of the death of Hari-varma. The last known date of the latter is his 8th regnal year, corresponding to 526 A.D. It may therefore be assumed that the change of ruling line took place in the succeeding year.

It is generally believed that Harivarma had no male issues to continue the main branch of the Kadambas. But the Mahā-Maḷapallī grant of that king,¹⁵⁹ also dated in his 8th regnal year, mentions a sēnāpati dharma-mahārāja, Vishṇudāsavarma, who by the description given in the record, appears to have actively participated in administration. In all likelihood he was the son of Harivarma. (The title dharma-mahārāja would explicitly imply this). But it is not known whether he ruled as a king after the death of Harivarma. It would be of interest to note that Kṛishṇavarma II is stated to be on an expedition to Vaijayantī in his Beṇṇūru plates (undated).¹⁶⁰ It is possible that Vishṇudāsavarma tried to revolt and declare his independence at Banavāsī in that year (C. 540 A.D.). And to subdue him, Kṛishṇavarma II might have led an expedition to Banavāsī. However, this is only a surmise.

Kadambas of Triparvata Branch

Kṛishṇavarma I (C. 455-467 A.D.) :

After the death of Kākusthavarma, Kṛishṇavarma I inaugurated a second branch of the Kadambas, probably with the capital at Triparvata. Two records can be ascribed to his reign; (i) Dēvagiri plates of his son Dēvavarma¹⁶¹ and (ii) the Aṇaji stone inscription of Śivanandanavarma,¹⁶² the Kēkaya chief. Neither contains the regnal year of the king. But information about this ruler can be had from the records of his successors.

As already pointed out above, the establishment of the new house had its consent from Kākusthavarma himself. But Kṛishṇavarma I was too ambitious to be content with what he had inherited. Obviously he must have planned to take over the area ruled by the other branch of the Kadambas. He performed the aśvamēdha sacrifice in order to announce his supremacy. It is not unlikely that the main branch of the Kadambas suffered reverses at the beginning. But at the close of the regime, it was Kṛishṇavarma's turn to face the disaster. He appears to have chosen his beloved son Dēvavarma as the heir-apparent (as indicated by the latter's epithets) instead of his eldest son Viśṇuvarma, thus creating dissent in his own family. The latter claims that he was anointed by Śāntivarma and the Pallava king.¹⁶³ This indicates that Viśṇuvarma

went over to the side of Śāntivarma of the main branch, seeking his support. The Aṇaji inscription mentions the disastrous defeat of Kṛishṇavarma's army and the ruin of the Kēkaya country at the hands of Naṇakkāsa-Pallava.¹⁶⁴ The Pallava king has not been identified but on chronological and circumstantial grounds; he is likely to be Siṃhavarma II. Seeing all this, the Kēkaya chief Śivanandanavarma chose death. He was probably the father-in-law of Kṛishṇavarma I. The extreme step taken by Śivanandanavarma only indicates the magnitude of the disaster and it would be reasonable to assume that Kṛishṇavarma I, too, died in the battle. Dēvavarma was subdued and Viṣṇuvarma, the rightful heir, anointed king. This must have taken place around 467-68 A.D., because in the 3rd regnal year Viṣṇuvarma still considered Śāntivarma to be his suzerain.¹⁶⁵

In the records of his successors, Kṛishṇavarma I is described not only as the performer of aśvamedha but also as having "obtained fame of victory in hard fought battle".¹⁶⁶ He was also well-trained in learning. He married a Kēkaya princess by whom he had Viṣṇuvarma, his successor. He also had a sister who had been married to Gaṅga Mādhava III. The inscriptions of the Gaṅgas particularly mention her as the sister of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarma, the aśvamedha-yājīn, thereby indicating the greatness of that king. Kṛishṇavarma predeceased his brother Śāntivarma.

Vishnuvarma (C. 467-484 A.D.) :

Three records of this king purporting to belong to the 3rd, 5th and 9th regnal years respectively, have come to light so far. The Herbata grant, dated in his 5th year,¹⁶⁷ mentions him as having been anointed by Śānti-varamahārāja and Pallavēndra. His Mūḍigere plates (9th year) also refer to him as having been crowned by Pallava king.¹⁶⁸ In the Bīrūr plates,¹⁶⁹ dated in his 3rd regnal year, he is stated to have made a donation with the permission of his senior father (i.e., uncle) Śāntivaravarmadharma-mahārāja, who was the master of the entire Karnāṭa region of the earth adorned by Vaijayantī". The genuineness of the record is suspected, but the information given therein does appear authentic. For, this very record eulogises Kṛishṇavarma I as "dharma-mahārāja who was the sovereign of the Dakshināpatha adored with his outspread umbrella, and performer of the āsvamedha sacrifice", which does not contradict the known facts. It would therefore appear that after being anointed on the throne, Vishnuvarma was made to continue his allegiance to the main branch of the Kadambas as long as Śāntivarma was alive. Since the records after the 3rd regnal year do not reveal this subordinate character, it appears that the Tripurvata line of Kadambas continued their independent rule again. This must be around 470 A.D., when Śāntivarma died. Mṛigeśavarma's rule was marked by troubles



from various quarters and one of the trouble-makers might have been Vishṇuvarma himself.

Judging from the descriptions in his own records and those of his successors, Vishṇuvarma seems to have proved a capable ruler. In the record of his 5th regnal year,¹⁷⁰ he is stated to have "attained victories against several dangers in a number of battles". The Mūdigere plates¹⁷¹ summarise his personality as follows : " ... son of the daughter of the Kēkaya king, having for himself unlimited pleasures with his own arms, whose prowess is not hindred by the ocean of war, who knows no night (or day) while discussing the science of horses, music, language, polity, dharma, archery and philosophy, who is ever engaged in the worship of gods, Brāhmaṇas, teachers, saints and scholars, equal to (Vishṇu) in valour and intellect ...". That he was a powerful ruler of this branch is also evidenced in the title dharma-mahārāja used for him in his own and his grandson's records. In the early records of Kṛishṇavarma II, while he himself is described as mahārāja, his grandfather and great grandfather are mentioned as dharma-mahārājas.¹⁷² Vishṇuvarma excelled both in the policies of war and peace. A record of his grandson¹⁷³ eulogises him as "equal to Vatsa, Indra and Arjuna in the arts of music, management of elephants and science of archery and well-versed in logic and grammar".

Towards the end of his reign, possibly he made a bid to obtain supremacy over the area ruled by the main branch of the Kadambas. Ravivarma claims that he killed in his boyhood a Vishṇudāsa (or Vishṇuvarma). As already suggested, this latter is likely to be Vishṇuvarma of the Triparvata line. Owing to the death of Vishṇuvarma (C. 484 A.D.) the Triparvata branch was relegated to a subordinate though autonomous status. This is indicated by the fact that Simhavarma is not described as dharmamahārāja in his recently discovered Mūḍigere record¹⁷⁴ as well as in the early records of Kṛishṇavarma II. If we are to believe the Mūḍigere plates of Simhavarma, Vishṇuvarma married a princess of Rāmēya family whose identity is obscure.

Simhavarma (C. 484-521 A.D.)

Till recently it was believed that Simhavarma son of Vishṇuvarma, did not rule as a king at all. The Mūḍigere plates of his 5th regnal¹⁷⁵ year have belied this. Although the authenticity of this record has been suspected by scholars, there appears to be no contradiction in the details furnished therein. He is stated to have been the son of Vishṇuvarma by a lady of the Rāmēya family. Mahalingam is probably right in his suggestion¹⁷⁶ that Simhavarma was named after Pallava Simhavarma II who is likely to have installed the former's father, Vishṇu-

varma on the throne. The Mūdigere plates describe Simhavarma only as mahārāja. He is stated to have been anointed by Maisavas (?) and honoured king Sarvasēna. The identity of these two kings is not revealed. His glowing eulogy in the record appears to be only formal. His rule probably came to an end around 521 A.D.

Krishnavarma II (C. 521-543 A.D.) :

Simhavarma was succeeded by his son Krishnavarma II. Six records of this king, ranging from 7th to 19th regnal years, are known. In the 7th regnal year two records were issued in the month of Kārtika : (1) the Banahallī plates¹⁷⁷ and (ii) the Śivalī plates.¹⁷⁸ The former refers to him only as mahārāja while the latter, as dharma-mahārāja. Hence it would appear that sometime in the month of Kārtika in his 7th regnal year, he occupied Banavāsi and hence the kingdom of Kadambas once again was united. This would be around 527 A.D. Whether this was achieved by use of arms or peaceful means is not clear. Not much is known about the exploits of Krishnavarma II. The Śivalī plates (of 12th regnal year) eulogise him as under "Well-known to initiative valourous acts, enjoying the prosperity of the kingdom with danger from enemies thwarted by the proper development of six-fold policy through three-fold power and four-fold expediencies and through a good arrangement of spies". This

may imply that he might have faced problems during his reign which he overcame by his efficient policies. It is likely that one of the dangers was from the side of Vishṇudāsavarma, son of Harivarma. The Beṇṇūru plates (undated)¹⁷⁹ inform that he was on a campaign to Vaijayantī. Probably, taking opportunity of the absence of Kṛishṇavarma II from the capital, Vishṇudāsavarma tried to invest himself as the ruler but was suppressed again by Kṛishṇavarma by the use of force.

The last known date of this king is his 22nd regnal year, which would correspond to C. 543 A.D., according to our chronology. This was the time when Pulikēśi I, the Chālukya monarch established his kingdom with the capital at Vātāpi (Bādāmi). His Bādāmi cliff inscription¹⁸⁰ dated 543 A.D., clearly indicates that he had already performed the aśvamedha and other sacrifices announcing his independent rule. Before that date, therefore, he must have defeated the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma II, probably around 540 A.D.

The Last Rulers :

Though the Kadambas were defeated by the Chālukyas under Pulikēśi I, their rule continued for considerable time. Kṛishṇavarma had two sons, viz., Ajavarma and Ravivarma. Ajavarma succeeded to the throne. He is known from only one record¹⁸¹ discovered in Kampli

(Yellapur taluk, North Kanara District) which indicates the continuation of Kadamba rule in that region. It is not known as to how long he ruled. He was succeeded by his son Bhōgivarṃa. This king is known from his solitary record¹⁸² discovered in Tagare (Belur Taluk, Hassan District). He is described in glowing terms in this record : He "had acquired extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arms". He was "the subduer of the circle of enemies" and "possessor of several kinds of enjoyments procured by victory over the enemies". Although it is not stated who the enemies were, it is easy to surmise that they were the Chālukyas. Bhōgivarṃa probably strived hard to assert the supremacy of the Kadambas. However, he was no match for the kings of the new Chālukya kingdom. It is likely that Bhōgivarṃa was the adversary of Kīrtivarṃa I (566-591 A.D.) who is credited with victory over the Kadambas in the Aihole prāsasti of Pulikēśi II. Bhōgivarṃa had a son named Viṣṇuvarṃa II.¹⁸³ It is not known whether he ruled as a king or not. After Bhōgivarṃa the Kadambas seem to have ruled in small pockets until they were completely overthrown by Pulikēśi II (610-642 A.D.). A few names like Dāmōdara-nṛipa¹⁸⁴ and Madhuvarṃa¹⁸⁵ are known but their relation with the Kadamba line is not clear.

3. The Chālukyas and After :

The Chālukyas of Vātāpi (C. 540-756 A.D.) :

The defeat of the Kadambas at the hands of Pulikēsi I (C. 540-756) of the Chalukya dynasty was ignominious but not final. The latter was able neither to take Banavāsī nor penetrate deep into the heart of Kadamba territories. However, he performed the aśvamedha and other sacrifices of vedic order and declared his independent rule under the title of prithivīvallabha. That was sometime before 543 A.D., when he announced, through the Bādāmi cliff inscription,¹⁸⁶ the completion of the construction of the invincible fort at Vātāpi, which he chose for capital. Obviously during his reign Banavāsī remained the stronghold of the humbled Kadambas.

The second blow to the Kadambas was given by the Chālukyas during the time of Kīrtivarma I (566-590/91), sometime after 578 A.D. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa¹⁸⁷ enlists a number of kings whom Kīrtivarma I defeated; and this includes, among others, the Gaṅga, Ālupa and Vaijayantī kings. The Aihole praśasti of Pulikēsi II¹⁸⁸ states that Kīrtivarma was a night of death to the Nālas, Mauryas and Kadambas. The same record also states that he shattered the Kadambas. As has already been pointed out, his adversary probably was Bhōgivarma of the Kadamba dynasty. Although, Kīrtivarma I inflicted

a crushing defeat on the Kadambas, he does not appear to have dislodged them. During the reign of Maṅgalēśa (590/1-609/10) they did not dare raise their head again. But at the time of fratricidal war between Maṅgalēśa and Pulikēśi II, they seem to have made their last bid at independence. The war went in favour of Pulikēśi II and in order to reproclaim the Chālukya supremacy he lodged a series of conquests thereafter. He laid seige to the town of Vanavāsi which was, as the Aihole prāsaṣṭi informs, bounded by the rivers Hamsā and Varadā and competed with the Surapura (Amarāvati) in its splendour and prosperity. At that time the Kadamba ruler probably was Vishṇuvarma II. He was defeated and Vanavāsi was taken. The Kadambas were dislodged from power and that sounded the end of the early Kadamba rule.

The Ālupas, who had been subdued by Kīrtivarma I, became trusted subordinates of the Chālukyas. The Maru-tūru grant¹⁸⁹ which is now being ascribed to Maṅgalēśa, informs that Ālukamahārāja came over to Kallūru all the way from Maṅgalapura (= Mangalore, South Kanara District) in order to take over charge of that district at the request of the Chālukya king (Maṅgalēśa), despite the heavy burden of his own kingdom. By such acts they had raised the trust-worthiness and prestige of their family. And the reward came in the reign of Pulikēśi II (609/10-642) whom they appear to have assisted in his campaigns.

Pulikēśi II, having dislodged the Kadambas from Banavāsi, assigned the administration of the erstwhile Kadamba territory (i.e., that which was under their direct administration) to the Ālupa king, probably Āluvarasa I alias Guṇasāgara. Thus Banavāsi, henceforth, became more of an administrative headquarters of the division called Banavāsi-maṇḍala, known to the Ālupa records by another name, viz., Kadamba-maṇḍala. In later records it is called Banavāsi-12,000.

Āluvarasa I is known from an inscription in Kigga¹⁹⁰ (Chikkamagalur District). It is stated therein that he was ruling over Kadamba-maṇḍala. His queen (mahādēvī) and son Chitravāhana I are also mentioned. The region around Kigga later came to be known as Sāntalige-1000 under the Sāntaras of Pombuchchapura (i.e., modern Humcha, Shimoga District). From the other known inscriptions of Āluvarasa, it has been surmised that Āluvarasa's territories included Kadamba-maṇḍala, Sāntalige region and South Kanara.¹⁹¹

Āluvarasa I was succeeded by his son Chitravāhana (I) in Banavāsi. The recently discovered Jambani (Sagar Taluk, Shimoga District) epigraph refers to him as Ālupendra-Chitravāhana in the reign of Chālukya Vinayāditya (681-696/7).¹⁹² He was ruling over Banavāsinaḍu. From the Shiggaon plates of Vijayāditya¹⁹³ it is known

that Chitravāhana had married Kumkumadevī, daughter of Vinayāditya. Chitravahana-Ālupendra is known also from some more records. Of these, the one from Kigga¹⁹⁴ refers to him only as the ruler of Pombuchcha. As Ramesh has suggested,¹⁹⁵ probably his father Āluvarasa was still ruling from Banavāsi at this time. In the Sorab plates of Vinayāditya (692 A.D.)¹⁹⁶ the latter is stated to have granted a village (Salivoge) in Eḍevolal-vishaya in the vicinity of Vaijayantīpura (= Banavāsi) at the request of Chitravāhana-mahārāja, the son of Guṇasāgara-Ālupendra. Two years later, in 694 A.D., Vinayāditya made another grant from Harihar at the request of Āluvarasa, who is to be identified with Chitravāhana.¹⁹⁷ The Shiggaon plates of Vijayāditya (696/7-733/4 A.D.) furnish the last known date of Chitravāhana (707 A.D.).¹⁹⁸ The record states that the king (Vijayāditya) was on his way to Banavāsi to see Ālupendra Chitravāhana when he made a grant, at the request of the latter, to the Jaina monastery caused to be constructed by his wife Kumkumadevī at Purigere (= Lakshmeśvara, Dharwad District). From a study of the contents of this record, Ramesh has shown that this visit of Chālukya Vijayāditya was purely a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law, Chitravāhana-Ālupendra, the ruler of Banavāsi.¹⁹⁹ The Ālupa ruler seems to have successfully stopped the Pāṇḍya invasion in the coastal region under Kochchadaiyan (c. 700-730), the Pāṇḍya king.²⁰⁰ How long further Chitravāhana I

ruled is not known.

Chitravāhana I was probably succeeded on the Ālupa throne by Āluvarasa II. In the closing years of Chālukya Vikramāditya II's reign or the early years of his successor Kīrtivarma II, the evidence goes to indicate that the Ālupas shifted their allegiance to Pallava Nandivarman II. An inscription discovered in Mallam (Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh),²⁰¹ dated 15th year of Nandippottarasar (= Nandivarman II), ascribable to C. 745-46 A.D., registers a grant by the Pallava king to god Subrahmaṇya of Tiruvānbūr at the request of Āluvarasa when Chalukkiarasar was the executor (ānatti). The Ālupa king has been identified tentatively as Āluvarasa II, the son of Chitravāhana I. "As a result of this estrangement between the Ālupas and their erstwhile overlords, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi", writes Ramesh, "the former were, once and forever, deprived of their sway over the Kadamba-maṇḍala".²⁰² This is confirmed by the fact that the Diḍgūr inscription of Kattiyara (= Kīrtivarma II)²⁰³ mentions a certain Dōsi as governing Banavāsi 12,000.

Thus, for more than a hundred years from the time of Pulikēśi II, Banavāsi served as the headquarters of Ālupa rulers who owed their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Vātāpi. But from the time of Kīrtivarma II, the story of Banavāsi changes again, because, the Banavāsi-maṇḍala was kept under changing administrative officers from time

to time.

The Rāshtrakūṭa Period :

Chālukyas under Kīrtivarma II (744-756) tasted defeat at the hands of Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga (C. 735-756). The latter's uncle and successor Kṛṣṇa I (C. 756-774 A.D.) completely routed Kīrtivarma's army. Kīrtivarma probably met his doom in the battle (756 A.D.).²⁰⁴ The main Chālukya line thus came to an end. But the descendants of the Chālukya family figure now and then in the Rāshtrakūṭa period. For instance, a Tailapa Mahārājādhirāja is mentioned in a Paṭṭadakal inscription (C. 8th century).²⁰⁵

But there is no doubt that the region of Banavāsi fell into the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas who appointed different governors from time to time. It would appear that they took care not to make its administration a monopoly of a particular family of rulers. Not much can be known, however, about the major events in the Banavāsi-maṇḍala during the Rāshtrakūṭa period.

An inscription from Kachavi (Hirekerur Taluk, Dharwad District)²⁰⁶ mentions a certain Madura Rāmarasa as governing Banavāsi-12000, possibly in association with his son Kattiyara, in the reign of Dhōra Dhārāvarsha i.e. Dhruva (C. 780-793 A.D.). The Narēgal herestone inscription²⁰⁷ of the time of the same king, mentions one

Marakkarasa as ruling over Banavāsi-12000. Another inscription of the time of Gōvinda III (793-814 A.D.) found in Nūlagēri (Dharwad District)²⁰⁸ also mentions the same officer as the ruler of Banavāsi division. In the reign of Gōvinda III, we notice frequent changes in the rulership of this division. Dantiga,²⁰⁹ Madanga,²¹⁰ Eṛeyama²¹¹ and Rājāditya²¹² are the other officers of Banavāsi division during his rule, in that order. Of these, Rājāditya's reign is somewhat of interest. He is stated to have belonged to Satyaśaluki family (i.e. Chālukyas).²¹³ While Eṛeyama was governing Banavāsi division, Rājāditya was in charge of Chālalur.²¹⁴ He succeeded Eṛeyama as the administrator of Banavāsi-maṇḍala. He is known from the Siragumbi,²¹⁵ Mēḍūr²¹⁶ and Hūlihaḷḷi²¹⁷ (all in Dharwad District) records in one of which he is described as paramēśvara-nīyōgi (paramount - dignitary). One of the significant events of his reign is the expulsion of Āḷupa Chitravāhana II. The Māvāḷḷi (Shimoga District) inscription²¹⁸ states that while Rājāditya was ruling over Banavāsi-maṇḍala, Chitravāhana, the ruler of Āḷuva-khēḍa-6000, having proved disobedient (to Gōvinda III), Kākarasa at the bidding of the enraged Kolli Pallava Nolamba, besieged the fortress of Pergunji. Chitravāhana tried to break through the right flank of ^{the} imperial forces. Kākarasa ordered Kulamudda to oppose him. He fought, brought victory to his side and fell in the battle. Chitravāhana was forced to vacate and retreat into his

own land. Ramesh has tried to assign this event to C. 794-95 A.D.²¹⁹ But in view of the quick succession of administrators of Banavāsi-maṇḍala, a date around C. 800 should be more appropriate. It is not unlikely that the frequent changes in officers was promoted by the adverse situations caused to the imperial authority in this region by the advances of Chitravāhana. Gopal has suggested that this Rājāditya could be Rājāditya I of the family of Chālukyas recorded in the Hirekogilūr plates of Rājāditya II.²²⁰ The latter is mentioned as the ruler of Kadambalige-1000.

In the reign of Amoghavarsha I (814-878 A.D.) we notice that Baṅkeśa of Challakētana family was in charge of Banavāsi region.²²¹ Baṅkeśa was an able general of the Rāshtrakūṭas. He was able to put down Gaṅga Rāchamalla who made attempts to recover northern part of Gaṅga kingdom lost during Śivamāra II's reign. In 859 A.D. he was governing Banavāsi-12000 (Araśainaguppi record, Dharwad District). The Koṇṇūr inscription²²² of 860 A.D., describes that he was ruling over Banavāsi and other divisions comprising 30,000 villages. The same record also states that he invaded Gaṅgavāḍi to suppress the Gaṅga ruler Rāchamalla (816-843) and fought and defeated him though he was not supported by other feudatory rulers. The Niḍagundi inscription²²³ mentions him as ruling over Banavāsi-12000, Belvola-300, Kundarage-70, Kundūru-500, and Puṛigere-300. The Gaṅga king Nītimārga (843-870)

tried to revolt again in the absence of Baṅkēśa, who had been sent to Gujarat to suppress a revolt there.²²⁴ But the king, with the help of Gaṅga Vijayāditya, defeated him. The Gaṅga king sued for peace and the conflict ended up in the marriage of Nītimārga's son Būtuga I with Amōghavarsha's daughter Chandrōbalabbe.²²⁵

Bankēśa was succeeded by his son Lōkayya or Lōkaṭe who figures in a couple of inscriptions²²⁶ as governing Banavāsi-12000 in the reign of Kṛishṇa II (876-914). In certain other records, a Mārakerasa²²⁷ and another Śrīmatpeṅkuli²²⁸ are stated to be ruling the nāḍ (which, from the context, appears to be Banavāsi-nāḍ) in the reign of the same king.

During the time of Indra III (914-929), we notice first a Mahāsāmanta Baṅkeyarasa ruling (919 A.D.) the administrative division comprising 32,000 villages (obviously including Banavāsi-12,000).²²⁹ Five years later, Banavāsi-12,000 was in charge of Saṅkaragaṇḍa of Rāshṭrakūṭa family, who bore the title Pañchamahāsabdamahāsāmanta.²³⁰ In 946 A.D., i.e., in the reign of Kṛishṇa III (939-967), again a member of the Chellakētana family, viz., Kaleviṭṭa was ruling over Banavāsi province.²³¹

In the Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III's reign²³² some interesting information is furnished, bearing on

Banavāsi region. It is stated therein that Gaṅga king Būtuga II (936-961) killed Chōḷa Rājāditya in the Takkōlam battle fought between the Chōḷas and the Rāshtrakūṭas (C. 947-49). And having been pleased by this act, kanaradēva (Kṛishṇa III) gave away the administration of Banavase-12000, Belvola-300, Puṛigere-300, Kīśukāḍ-70 and Bēgenāḍ-70 to Būtuga. Thus Banavāsi-maṇḍala came under the rule of the Gaṅgas during the time of Kṛishṇa III. But this did not last long.

Kṛishṇa III was succeeded by the weak ruler Khoṭṭiga (967-972). During his time Rājāditya II of Chālukya family was ruling over Kadambaḷige-1000, as known from the Hirekōgilūr plates.²³³ It appears that Rājāditya tried to support Taila II, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa against the Rāshtrakūṭa overlord. But Gaṅga Mārasimha II (963-974) was a staunch supporter of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In his record he claims to have killed in battle a certain Rājāditya, who is probably identical with his namesake, Rājāditya II.²³⁴ Hence, Banavāsi-maṇḍala continued to be in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In 972 A.D. we notice that a certain Chaṭṭayyadēva (obviously the same as Chaṭṭa, the first ruler of Kadambas of Hāṅgal) was ruling over Banavāsi-12000 in the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Kannara (son of Khoṭṭiga).²³⁵ This person was ruling also during the reign of Karka II (972-73).²³⁶ In 973 A.D., Taila II of the Chālukya

dynasty succeeded in overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke. Before his death in 974 A.D., Gaṅga Marasīmha crowned at Baṅkāpura Indra IV, who was the sister's son of the former and grandson of Kṛishṇa III. This king tried to reaffirm the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy with the aid of the Gaṅgas, but in vain. He continued to be in Baṅkāpura till 982 A.D. claiming himself to be the ruler.²³⁷

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Kalachuris and Yādavas of Dēvagiri :

The success of Taila II against the Rāshtrakūṭas inaugurated the new regime of the Chālukyas with their capital at Kalyāṇa (District Bidar). Their rule lasted for nearly two centuries. The region of Banavāsi was under their suzerainty from the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century, but a feudatory family who claimed descent from the Kadamba line was kept in charge of the Banavāsi-maṇḍala. Even during the Kalachuri and Yādava periods, they continued to be the chiefs of the region. Therefore, the political history of the Banavāsi region during this period is, for all practical purposes, the history of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal.²³⁸

The circumstances which led to the re-appearance of the Kadamba family in the political arena of the Banavāsi region are not at all clear. The first member of this family we know of is Chaṭṭuga or Chaṭṭayyadēva,

who figures already in the inscriptions of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa rulers Kannara (927 A.D.)²³⁹ and Karka II (972-73 A.D.)²⁴⁰

The Maṅgaḷūru (Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District) inscription²⁴¹ refers to the rule of Chaṭṭigaḍēva who bears the titles - mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara, and parama-bhaṭṭāraka. The same record also mentions a member of the Kadamba family as governing over Banavāsi-12000. The record is badly damaged and the name of the Kadamba chief cannot be known. Moraes has surmised²⁴² that he was Iṛivabeḍaṅga-dēva, the father of Chaṭṭa or Kundama. According to him Iṛivabeḍaṅga was the founder of the family of Kadambas of Hāṅgaḷ who conquered the Banavāsi and other adjoining provinces from the Rāshṭrakūṭas and made himself an independent ruler around 967-68 A.D. Gopal has recently shown²⁴³ that these surmises of Moraes are thoroughly unwarranted. But he has eschewed from passing any remark about Chaṭṭigaḍēva of the Maṅgaḷūru inscription.²⁴⁴ From the other Kadamba records, it is now known that Chaṭṭuga was the first ruler of this family. But the strange thing about Chaṭṭigaḍēva of Maṅgaḷūru record is that he has been ascribed independent regal titles like mahārājādhirāja, etc. It would, therefore, appear that the first member of the new Kadamba family, viz., Chaṭṭuga emerged and attempted to assert independence when the Rāshṭrakūṭa power was declining.

For some time in 968 A.D., he possibly assumed regal titles indicating his independence. Perhaps the Maṅga-lūru record was issued at that time. In any case, before long the Rāshṭrakūṭas made him accept their overlordship. Later on he accepted Taila II as his suzerain as the latter was too powerful for him. Thereafter he seems to have remained a faithful feudatory of his Chālukya overlords. The Chālukyas were cautious enough to change the governorship of Banavāsi-maṇḍala from time to time in order to prevent them from becoming powerful.

Chaṭṭayya's records have been found in the region around Banavāsi, ranging in date from 972 to 1012 A.D. The earliest among those of Kalyāṇa Chālukya rule is from Yesale (Śirsi Taluk, North Kanara District) dated in 979-80 A.D.²⁴⁵ This as well as three more records from the same place belong to Taila II. Chaṭṭayya was then administering the Banavāsi division. In the Hulekal record²⁴⁶ dated 982 A.D., he is stated to be governing Banavāsi-12000 as well as Sāntalige-1000 divisions. The Yesale record²⁴⁷ of 984-85 A.D. also mentions him as governing these two administrative divisions. But in 986-87 A.D.²⁴⁸ and 993 A.D.²⁴⁹ we notice him administering only Banavāsi division. Other records mentioning Chaṭṭayya as the governor of this region are dated in 1006 A.D.²⁵⁰ and 1012 A.D.²⁵¹



However, we must note that Banavāsī was subjected to administration of some other officers also during the same period. While the Yesāḷe record²⁵² of Saka 906, Tāraṇa, Āśvayuja, Vishusaṁkrānti mentions Chaṭṭayya as the governor of Banavāsī-12000 and Śāntaḷige-1000 divisions, the Kuṇṭana Hosallī record²⁵³ which is dated in the month of Pushya of the same cyclic year, Tāraṇa, mentions Mahāsāmanta Śōbhanarasa as the governor. Thereby it is clear that for some time between these two months in that year, Chaṭṭayya was made to lay down his office. The reason is not clear, although Gopal surmises that "this must be due to the administrative policy of changing the governors from place to place thus disabling them from strengthening themselves".²⁵⁴ The Talakal record²⁵⁵ of 991 A.D., mentions Śōbhanarasa as the governor of Banavāsī. In 993 A.D. Chaṭṭayya was once again the administrator of Banavāsī. Between 995 and 1006 A.D. Sāmantaⁱkēsari Bhmarasa is referred to as the governor of Banavāsī, Śāntaḷige and Kīśukāḍu divisions.²⁵⁶ In 1006 Chaṭṭayya resumed the governorship of Banavāsī and continued to be in charge of that division at least until 1 October 1012 A.D., his last known date, with an interruption in 1010 A.D. when Bhīmarasa was again in charge of Banavāsī.²⁵⁷

It is not known as to what Chaṭṭayya was doing when he was not in charge of governorship of Banavāsī division.

However, it is not improbable that he had been assisting his overlords in the consolidation of the newly founded empire of the Chalukyas, and in overcoming the enemies. If we are to believe the statements in the Banavāsi inscription of Kadamba Kīrtivarma (great grandson of Chaṭṭayya),²⁵⁸ Chaṭṭayya probably continued to serve the Chālukyas even after 1012 A.D. It is stated therein that Chaṭṭuga received the title of Kaṭakadagōva (guardian of the camp) from the Chālukya king Jayasīṃha II (1015-1044 A.D.) for his success in repelling the Mālavas and penetrating to the river Gautama Gaṅgā (i.e., the Gōdāvari). This event is placed around 1015 A.D. Obviously, Chaṭṭayya continued to serve at least upto that date. What happened to him thereafter is not known.

On December 29, 1012 A.D. Kundamarasa was in charge of the Banavāsi province.²⁵⁹ Moraes has wrongly identified this person with Chaṭṭayya himself.²⁶⁰ The incorrectness of this identification has been pointed out by Gopal.²⁶¹ Kundamarasa is described in his records as the son of Irivabedaṅgadēva and Sattiganachaṭṭa and bears the epithets Banavāsipurādhiśvara and Chāmundaḍēvi-Labdhavaraprasāda. But there is nothing to show that he belonged to the Kadamba dynasty. Nor is there any justification to assume that Chaṭṭayya changed his name to that of Kundamarasa after 1012 A.D. Gopal²⁶² has tried to show that Kundamarasa was probably son-in-law

of Irivabedāṅga Satyāśraya whose daughter Padmādevī had been married to him. Like Chaṭṭayya, Kundamarasa also fought on behalf of his master and earned the title Kaṭakadagōva.²⁶³ He was also known by the name Kunda-rāja. The last known date of Kundamarasa is 1031 A.D.

From the Banavāsi inscription of Kadamba Kīrti-varma²⁶⁴ it is known that Kadamba Chaṭṭayya had a son named Jayasīmha. No inscription of Jayasīmha has come to light so far; nor is anything known about his achievements. Moraes suggested that Jayasīmha had married Akkādevī, the sister of Chālukya Vikramāditya V. The ground for his suggestion was the Kōṭur inscription of 1037 A.D.²⁶⁵ According to him Jayasīmha died young and a certain Rājagurudevā was of great help to Akkādevī and acted as regent at this period. But an accurate text of this inscription has been since published, and it is now known that the inscription is dated in 1045 A.D.²⁶⁶ According to this record a certain Rājagurudevā was administering 12 villages for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Baṅkāpura. He bears such epithets as Kadambānvaya-samuddharaṇa (the restorer of the Kadamba family) and Koṅkaṇa-rakshapāla (the guardian of Koṅkaṇ). Beyond this it does not mention anything in relation to Akkādevī or Jayasīmha. Since we know that the Kadambas of Gōa were ruling at this time in Koṅkaṇa region, it is possible, as suggested by Gopal,²⁶⁷ that the epithets of Rājagurudevā may have relevance to that family. Barnett²⁶⁸

and Gopal²⁶⁹ have argued on the evidence of the Hoṭṭūr record of 1037 A.D.,²⁷⁰ that it was Mayūravarma, a member of a different Kadamba family, who married Akkādevī.

This record states that Akkādevī was governing Banavāsi-12000 while Mayūravarma was administering both Banavāsi-12000 and Pānuṅgal-500 divisions under one parasol which probably indicates a relation of wife and husband between them.

Thus, it would appear that after Kundamarasa the administration of Banavāsi region fell into the hands of members of another Kadamba family. In a record dated 1034-35 A.D., from Āḍūr,²⁷¹ Mayūravarma figures for the first time and is described as Banavāsipuravarādhiśvara and Pāntipurādhipa. Hence for the first time we notice the Kadambas being associated with administration of Pānuṅgal-500 division. The other dates on which we know Mayūravarma's rule over these divisions are 1044-45²⁷² and 1047 September 22.²⁷³ However, the Baichavalli (Hangal Taluk, Dharwad District), record²⁷⁴ dated 1047 September 22, mentions Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍarāyaraśa as governing Banavāsi-12000. The same chief was also ruling over this division in 1046 A.D.²⁷⁵ and also the divisions of Sāntalige-1000, and Haive-500.²⁷⁶ Apparently, as pointed out by Gopal,²⁷⁷ Chāvunḍarāyaraśa was the de jure governor of Banavāsi while de facto chief was Mayūravarma himself. Chāvunḍarāya, an able general of

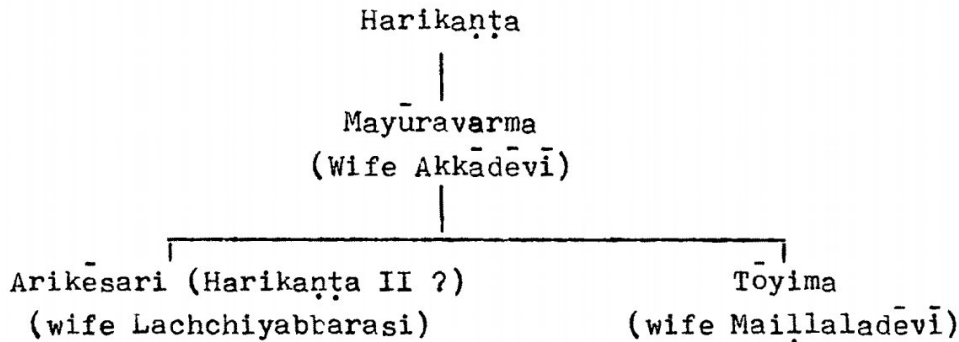
Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who helped his master in repulsing the Chōla attacks, held his office of governorship over Banavāsi-12000 as late as 1051 A.D.²⁷⁸

Tōyimaḍēva was the son of Akkāḍēvī and Mayūravarma. He was ruling over Banavāsi and Pānuṃgal divisions in 1066 A.D. as known from the Hoṭṭūr record.²⁷⁹ This record mentions Akkāḍēvī but not Mayūravarma. Possibly the latter had passed away. It would be of interest to know that on this date, again, Banavāsi division was being administered by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmarasa.²⁸⁰ Obviously, like Chāvunḍarāyaraśa, this chief also rose to greater position under Sōmēśvara II and became the de jure governor of Banavāsi region. However, in 1062 A.D. Tōyilaḍēva (i.e., Tōyimaḍēva) was in charge of both Banavāsi and Pānuṃgal divisions, probably independently. His wife was Maḷaladēvī. Thus Mayūravarma and his son ruled over Banavāsi-Hāṅgal areas from about 1034-35 to 1066 A.D. The last known date of Mayūravarma is 1047 A.D.²⁸¹ and probably he did not survive thereafter. Tōyimaḍēva was still young and his mother Akkāḍēvī looked after the administration till he came of age. Her last known date is 1054 A.D.²⁸² and she possibly retired from active administration later when her son was in office.²⁸³

Evidence goes to indicate that Mayūravarma and Tōyimaḍēva belonged to a Kadamba family different from that of Chaṭṭayya. Mayūravarma is described in his

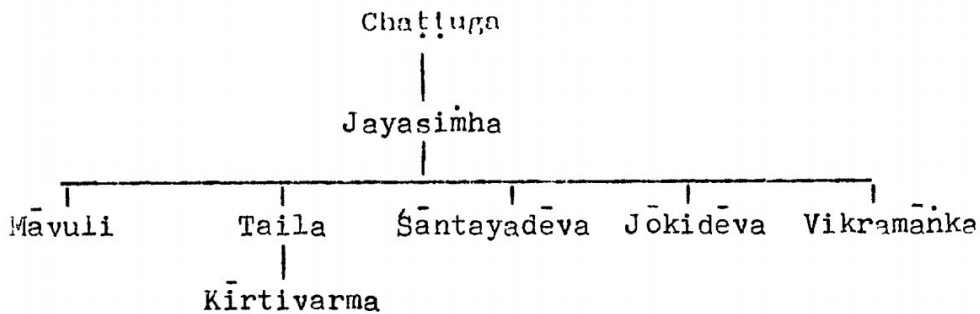
records as Harikaṇṭanasiṅga (lion of Harikaṇṭa) and Tōyima, like-wise is described as Hariganasiṅga.²⁸⁴

Interestingly, between 1049 and 1055 A.D., the provinces of Banavāsi and Hāṅgal were being administered by another Kadamba chief Arikēsari, known also as Harikēsari, Hariga or Ariga,²⁸⁵ who obviously served as subordinate of Chāvunḍarāya. On these grounds, Gopal has recently suggested²⁸⁶ that there is some sort of relationship between Arikēsari, Mayūravarma and Tōyima as follows :



Although this suggestion cannot be ruled out, it awaits further confirmatory evidence. Gopal prefers to call this family the Kadambas of Baṅkāpura.

Obviously, the successors of Chaṭṭayya of the Kadamba family remained eclipsed till we hear of Kīrti-varma of the Banavāsi record dated 1068 A.D. The reason for this eclipse is not known. From the Banavāsi records²⁸⁷ the following genealogy of the Kadamba family upto Kīrti-varma can be made out.



Since the Banavāsi inscription of Kadamba Kīrtivarma is dated in the last year of the rule of Sōmēśvara I (1044-1068 A.D.) the former obviously rose to power during the latter's reign. Kīrtivarma was thus able to reopen the fortunes of the Kadamba family of Chaṭṭayya's line. However, during the early years of the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1068-1076), son and successor of Sōmēśvara I, he tried to play the role of king-maker which proved disastrous. Before we consider the evidence for this fact, it would be worth while taking a look at the developments in the reign of Sōmēśvara II.

When Sōmēśvara II succeeded to the Chālukya throne, his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, was in the north looking into the affairs of the Paramāra kingdom. He had set up Jayasimha on the Paramāra throne. Sōmēśvara II became suspicious of Vikramāditya and recalled him to the south. Soon after, Paramāra Udayāditya expelled Jayasimha from the throne. Sōmēśvara fought with the usurper in alliance with Kaḷachuri Karna and Chālukya Karna of Gujarat only to be defeated in 1070 A.D. Nor were the

things at home happy. Vikramāditya afraid for his life left the capital Kalyāṇa along with his brother Jayasimha. But he was followed by the imperial forces which, however, were defeated by him. He proceeded to Banavāsi. Obviously this was to seek the assistance of the Kadamba ruler of Banavāsi, Kīrtivarma. Next he subdued Jayakēśi, the Kadamba chief of Goa. With the help of the Kadamba chief, he defeated Vīrarājendra, the Chōla king, who thereupon extended the hand of friendship and offered his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These events may be placed around 1070 A.D. when Sōmēśvara II was engaged in the war with the Paramāras. Shortly after, Chōla Vīrarājendra died. Vikramāditya proceeded to the Chōla capital and secured the throne for his brother-in-law Adhirājendra by putting down rebels. But soon Adhirājendra was replaced by Kulōttuṅga I and thus the Veṅgi kingdom fell to the share of Chōlas. The defeat of Chālukyas at the hands of Paramāra Udayāditya and the loss of Veṅgi to the Chōlas meant that the fortunes of the Chālukyas were falling apart in the reign of Sōmēśvara II. Under these circumstances Vikramāditya decided finally to overthrow his brother and take over the Chālukya throne.²⁸⁸

Among the subordinate chiefs who sided with Vikramāditya was Kadamba Kīrtivarma. Tammaḍi Kallāḷa (Siddapur Taluk, North Kanara District) hero-stone inscription²⁸⁹ dated June 5, 1071 A.D. records that Sāntayya-

gaṇḍa of Silehalli died in a battle fought by mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kīrtivarmadēva and his younger brother Chaṭṭayya-dēva of Kadamba family against Udayāditya. Kīrtivarmadēva is stated to have established Permāḍi (= Vikramāditya VI) on the throne which was the cause of Sōmēśvara II's displeasure against him. The outcome of this battle is not clear. Although an inscription dated 31st December, 1071 A.D. refers to Kīrtivarma as ruling at Banavāsi,²⁹⁰ we notice that on 21st December, 1071 A.D., Parikaṇṭadēva (= Harikaṇṭadēva) of Kadamba family was ruling over Banavāsi and Pānūṅgal divisions,²⁹¹ and in a record dated January 22 1072 A.D., this latter as well as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Barmadēva are described as lords of Banavāsi.²⁹² In October 1072 A.D., Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tailapa was governing Banavasi and attacked his own brother on behalf of Sōmēśvara II.²⁹³ Interestingly, this record refers in its preamble to Kīrtivarma as governing over the same territory. The second inscription from Tammaḍi kallāḷa²⁹⁴ dated 26th December 1082 A.D., mentions Chaṭṭayya (II) as governor of Banavāsi. It states that his younger brother mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tailapadēva attacked him near Śirsi (North Kanara District) But on 23rd December 1072 A.D., Bhuvanaikamalla-pallava-vīra-Nolamba-Udayādityadēva is stated to be governing Banavāsi-12000 and Sāntalige-1000, while his younger brother daṇḍanāyaka Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa held charge of Pānūṅgal-500.²⁹⁵ These two, as well as Parikaṇṭadēva are stated to be camping at

Baṅkāpura. Udayāditya was in charge of the above divisions on December 22, 1073 A.D. also.²⁹⁶

Thus it would appear that Banavāsī region was constantly under revolt practically from the beginning of Sōmēśvara II's rule. His attempts to suppress the Kadambas yielded little success because Vikramāditya VI was the force behind these revolts. Sōmēśvara could hardly believe these chiefs and the Kadambas were once again pushed into obscurity for quite some time. Sāntayyaḍēva (also called Śāntivarma), the uncle of Kīrtivarma figures in a record of 1075 A.D., but he was not associated with the administration of any region²⁹⁷ while maḥamaṇḍalēśvara Udayāditya of Gaṅga family was ruling over Banavāsī-12000 and Sāntalige-1000.²⁹⁸ In 1076 A.D. (?) we notice Bhuvanaikamalla-Vīra-Nolamba held charge of Banavāsī, Pānuṅgal and Nolambavāḍi provinces.²⁹⁹

The most unfortunate thing about Kīrtivarma was that even Vikramāditya VI, with whose support the revolt had been engineered, brushed aside his claims to rulership. Vikramāditya obviously wished the sensitive region of Banavāsī to be under the administration of trusted officers. Hence we find that the region was under general Barmadēvayya in 1077³⁰⁰ daṇḍanāyaka Baladēvayya in 1079³⁰¹ and daṇḍanāyaka Tambarasa in 1080-81 A.D.³⁰² The disillusioned Kīrtivarma made his last bid to assert himself, but only to be subdued by Gōa Kadamba chief Jayakēśi.³⁰³

However, soon Vikramāditya VI seems to have recognised a trusted and loyal subordinate in Śāntivarma, Kīrtivarma's uncle, whom he entrusted with the governorship of Banavāsi-Hāṅgal divisions at least from 1087 A.D.³⁰⁴ Although some other officers seem to have held governorship as de jure authorities,³⁰⁵ de facto authority appears to have vested in Śāntivarma until 1089 A.D., his last known date.³⁰⁶ However, he was probably assisted by his son Taila from 1082 A.D. onwards.³⁰⁷

The Baṅkāpura record³⁰⁸ dated February 7, 1090 A.D., mentions mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kaliyamarasa as governing Pānuṅgal-500 from the capital Baṅkāpura. It would appear that sometime after this date Tailapa took over the charge of the administration of Hāṅgal division. He ruled for a considerably long time, till 1130 A.D. at least.

The administration of Banavāsi province passed through the hands of officers like Mahāpradhāna Anantapāla (1102 A.D.)³⁰⁹ and his nephew Gōvindarasa (1113, 1114 and 1117 A.D.).³¹⁰ In 1110 A.D.³¹¹ and 1115 A.D.³¹² Kadamba Tailapa was administering Banavāsi and Hangal provinces. Therefore, probably officers like Anantapāla held a higher position of governing, in de jure capacity, larger number of divisions than the Kadamba chiefs.

The reign of Kadamba Tailapa was eventful in that he had to counter Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana several times on the battlefield. He had to remain loyal to Vikramāditya VI



in order to save the position of the Kadamba family and in the interest of the Chālukya kingdom. After the death of Vikramāditya VI, the Hoysaḷas tried to become independent. They sought the assistance of other feudatories like the Kadambas of Gōa and Hāṅgal. But the latter remained opposed to the Hoysaḷa moves. The strategies of the Kadamba chief did not go unrewarded. His last record, mentioning his death associated him with the administration of Banavāsi-12000, Belvola Eraḍārunūru, Sāntalige-1000, Maṇḍalināḍu and Hāṅgal-500 divisions.³¹³ Obviously before his death, his selfless service got him recognition as a deserving administrator and he had risen to that status from merely that of the administrator of Banavāsi and Hāṅgal divisions. But in 1119 A.D., he was the ruler also of Sāntalige-1000 and Haive-500 provinces.³¹⁴ The administration of the latter province, however, appears to have been temporary since Haive-500 was actually under the control of Kadambas of Gōa.

The Belagutti record³¹⁵ refers to the death of Tailapa on Monday, Kārtika Śu. 2, Sādhārāṇa Samvatsara, in the 55th Chālukyavikrama year (6th October, 1130 A.D.). But in one of the Balligāme inscriptions of Bhūlōkamalla³¹⁶ dated 1131 A.D., August 28, it is stated that a grant was made at the instance of Tailapadēva of Banavāsi by his subordinate māṇḍalika Masanayya to goddess Kālīkā-dēvī of Balipura (= Balligāme). This goes against the evidence of Belagutti record mentioned above. However,

as suggested by Gopal,³¹⁹ it is possible that the grant had been made when Tailapa was alive, but engraved later on the specified date.

Mayūravarma, the eldest son of Taila, succeeded his father in 1130 A.D. The Hāvaṅgi record³¹⁸ of 1131 A.D., September 8, mentions him as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 while the Hirēkerūr record³¹⁹ dated a couple of months later in the same year, describes him as administering Banavāsi-12000, Hānuṅgaḷ-500, Sāṅṭalige-1000 and Halasige-12000. The last mentioned province was actually administered by the Kadamba chiefs of Goa and it is not certain as to why it has crept in the list of provinces administered by the Hāṅgaḷ chiefs. However, Mayūravarma's rule lasted only for two years and in 1132 A.D., we notice the rule of his younger brother Mallikārjuna.

Hāṅgaḷ witnessed another attack by the Hoysaḷas during the reign of Mallikārjuna. The Yeḷavatti record commemorates the death of a hero in a fight that had ensued during the expedition of Hoysaḷadeva against Pānuṅgaḷ.³²⁰ In 1137-38 A.D., Mallikārjuna is stated to have attacked the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi (modern Lakkūṇḍi, Dhārwaḍ District) in the reign of Chālukya Sōmēśvara III.³²¹ It is possible that this was an attempt of the Kadamba chief to retaliate Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana.

The regime of Tailama III, a brother and successor

of Mallikārjuna, witnessed the struggle for supremacy of the three powers - the Kaḷachuris, the Seūnas and the Hoysaḷas over the Tungabhadra Doab. The Kaḷachuris succeeded in usurping the Chālukya throne but the subsequent years were full of strife, too. The inscription referring to Tailama III are dated 1147-48.³²² The Kadambas of Hāṅgal became the victims of the struggle of the three powers.

Some confusion prevails regarding the genealogy of the Kadamba chiefs of Hāṅgal after Tailama III. The Lakshmeśvara inscription³²³ dated 1152 A.D., mentions a Māvuli Taila, grandson of the Kadamba chief Taila, and records the renewal of a grant made by his grandfather, Tailahadēva, who was a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. Hence, this Tailanadēva may be identical with Taila II (1090-1130 A.D.) son of Śāntivarma. However, in the Kuppagaḍḍe inscription of 1189 A.D., (Chalukya Sōmēśvara IV's reign), a Kadamba chief named Kāmadēva is referred to as the governor of Banavāsi and Hāṅgal divisions.³²⁴ Further, this record gives his genealogy as follows : Śāntivarma had two sons - Kīrtivarma and Tailapa. The former of these had two grandsons - Kīrtinripāla and Kāma. Kīrtivarma ruled for a short period and was succeeded by his brother Kāmadēvarasa, the ruling chief.

Hence the relationship of Māvuli Taila with

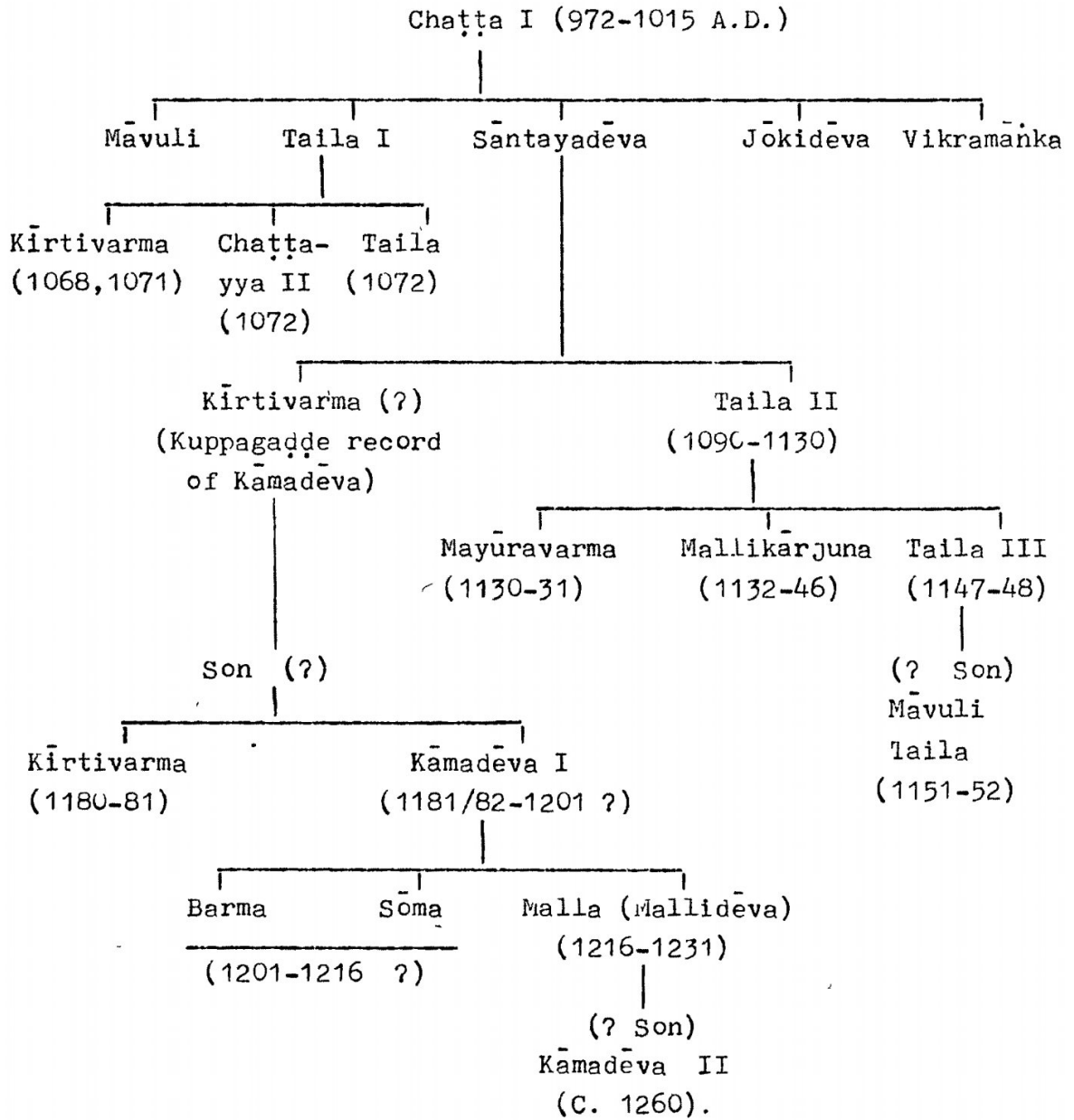
Taila III is not clear. If the Bāḷambiḍ record,³²⁵ which Gopal is inclined to assign to 1151 A.D.,³²⁶ really belongs to Māvuli Taila (it refers to the chief only as Tailapadēva) ruling from Nareyaṃgal, this chief may have ruled from 1150 to 1152 A.D. Further details cannot be made out with the available evidence.

In a record of 1180 A.D., from Hāṅgal³²⁷ a Kadamba chief Vīra Sōyidēva is referred to, his regnal year being the 5th year. Obviously, he must have commenced his rule sometime in 1175-76 A.D. The Andalgi record of his 3rd regnal year,³²⁸ corresponding to 1177-78 A.D., mentions him as the Kadamba Chakravarti. He must have continued at least upto 1180 A.D. Again we cannot establish the relationship of this chief with the main Kadamba line of Hāṅgal. Since the Kuppagadde record referred to above states that Kīrtivarma, elder brother of Kāmadēva, ruled for only a short period, and since the Banavāsi inscription³²⁹ of Kāmadēva is dated 7th regnal year, Piṅgala, corresponding to 1198 A.D., it will have to be assumed that Kīrtivarma ruled between 1180-81 and 1181-82 A.D. Gopal is probably right³³⁰ in surmising that the Banavāsi inscription mentioning Kadamba chief Vīrama (hitherto identified as Vikrama, son of Jayasīmha and grandson of Chaṭṭa I)³³¹ really belongs to Vīra-Kāma(-dēva). Kaḷala-dēvi, mentioned in the Kuppagadde record as goddess Lakshmi of the Kadamba kingdom, was probably wife of

Kāmadēva. She had three sons, viz. Barma, Sōma and Malla. No records ascribable to Barma and Sōma are known. However, a record of Mallidēva, son of Kāmadēva, dated in his 15th regnal year and corresponding to 1231 A.D. is known.³³² He must have commenced his rule around 1216 A.D. It is not unlikely that his two elder brothers had ruled for short periods before 1216 A.D.

Around C. 1260 A.D., a Kāvādēva of Kadamba family is found ruling in the region.³³³ His relationship with Mallidēva is not known, though it is not unlikely that he was Kāmadēva's grandson and Mallidēva's son. We may perhaps regard this Kāvādēva as Kāmadēva II. Rāmadēvarasa, whom Moraes takes as the brother of Mallidēva on grounds of a badly damaged record,³³⁴ is probably a mistake for Kāmadēvarasa, who could be the same as Kāmadēva II. This chief may be regarded as the last known member of this Kadamba family.

From the above account, we may reconstruct the genealogy of the later Kadamba rulers (so-called Hāngal Kadambas) as follows :³³⁵



The suzerainty of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri over Banavāsī proper is evidenced at least by one inscription found in that place.³³⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Mahabharata 6, 366. The Harivamsa (5232) also mentions Vanavasa, apparently Banavasi. But since both the epic and its supplement, Harivamsa, are considered to be work composed as late as 4th-5th century A.D., the value of these references is considerably belittled.
2. Mahavamsa, XII, 4; 31-33. For more details, see Infra Chapter on Religious conditions.
3. Mahavamsa, XII, 31-33.
4. Gopal, B.R., Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions, p. XII.
5. Sircar, D.C., Inscriptions of Asoka, Rock Edict No. 2, p. 41.
6. Narasimha Murthy, A.V., in Śrīkaṇṭhikā, pp. 289-90.
7. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., No. 1 (Note).
8. Sircar, D.C., Op. cit., pp. 15-16.
9. Nagaraju, S., Buddhist Architecture of Western India, p. 25.
10. Ibid.
11. For a recent reassessment see Ibid., pp. 15-24.

12. EI., Vol. VIII, p. 71.
13. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., No. 4.
14. Mirashi, V.V., "Banavasi Inscription of Śiva-Sri Pulumavi", AS., Vol. I, pp. 26-28.
15. Narasimha Murthy, A.V., Coins of Karnataka, p. 50.
16. SIE., I, pp. 34-39.
17. Mirashi, V.V., Op. cit.
18. Ibid., p. 28.
19. Sarma, I.K., Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire, pp. 13-23.
20. Narasimha Murthy, A.V., Op. cit., p. 51;
Śrīkanthikā, p. 290.
21. Sarma, I.K., Op. cit., p. 18.
22. Matsya Purāṇa, 273, 17-19.
23. Panchamukhi, R.S., Karnāṭaka Itihāsa, p. 99.
24. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., No. 1 (Note), pp. 6-7.
25. SII., Vol. XX, No. 1; EI., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 239 ff.
Bhat, H.R.R., Karnāṭaka Śāsana Kale, p. 17.
26. Comprehensive History of India, pp. 337-38.
27. Desai, P.B., et. al., A History of Karnataka, pp. 54-55.
28. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. XIX.

29. Panchamukhi, R.S., Op. cit., p. 99.
30. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, p. 186.
31. Rapson, Catalogue of Coins, p. 1.
32. Lüder's List, No. 1021.
33. Mirashi, V.V., "A Note on the Banavasi Inscription of Vinhukada Satakarni : Year 12", AS., Vol. II, pp. 49-52.
34. Narasimha Murthy, A.V., Op. cit., p. 45.
35. Ibid.
36. Sundara, A., in Mudhu : Recent Researches
37. Nagaraju, S., Op. cit., p. 25.
38. EI., Vol. XX, p. 24.
39. EI. Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-4
40. EI. Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.
41. Sarma, I.K., The Development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture, p. 129.
42. Bhat, H.R.R., Op. cit., p. 119.
43. Narasimha Murthy, A.V., Op. cit., pp. 45-46.
44. We have followed Nagaraju, S. (Op. cit.) in this connection.



45. Chāntamūla II is known to have ruled at least for 24 years. We may perhaps assign him about 30 years rule commencing from C. 303 A.D.
46. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., No. 1.
47. Rapson, Op. cit.
48. Sircar, D.C., Successors of Sātavāhanas in the Deccan, pp. 222-224.
49. Panchamukhi, R.S., Op. cit.
50. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. XXII
51. See Infra, p. for discussion of Kadamba chronology.
52. EC., Vol. VII (Old), Sk. 236.
53. Ibid., Sk. 117.
54. Ibid., Vol. XI, Dg. 35.
55. Ibid., VII (Old), Sk. 236; Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. XIII-XIV.
56. K.K. Kudva, Dakshina Kannadada Itihāsa, pp. 34-36.
57. Ibid., pp. 32-34.
58. EC., Vol. VIII (Old), Sb. 262.
59. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., No. 4.
60. Moraes, Kadambakula, p. 10, Note 1.
61. Ibid.

62. Śrīkanthikā, pp. 100-101.
63. Quoted by Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. XV.
64. Ibid., p. XVI.
65. Ibid., pp. XVI-XVII.
66. JIH., Vol. XIII, p. 165.
67. Fleet, Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, p. 289.
68. Moraes, Op. cit., Table facing p. 8.
69. Rao, N.L. and Panchamukhi, R.S., Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagalu, p. 15.
70. Desai, P.B., et. al., A History of Karnataka, pp. 76-78 and table on p. 79.
71. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., pp. XXIV-XXX.
72. Ibid., No. 1.
73. The correct version of the inscription has been recently published by B. Rajasekharappa, "Chandravalli Sasanadamele Hosabelaku", Kannada Sāhitya Parishatpatrike, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 89-100.
74. CKI., No. 4.
75. For a discussion on Early Pallava history see, Mahalingam, T.V., Kañchipuram in Early South Indian History, pp. 25-52.
76. CKI., No. 3.
77. Ibid., No. 8

78. Sircar, D.C., Successors of Sātavahanas, p. 260.
79. CKI., No. 16.
80. Ibid., No. 31.
81. Dikshit, K.N., has pointed out this concurrence;
CKI., pp. XXIV-XXV.
82. Ibid., No. 34.
83. Ibid., No. 35.
84. This is stated in Ravivarma's Halsi plates and
Gudnapura epigraphs. CKI., Nos. 22 and 23.
However the exact family to which Vishṇuvarma
belonged is not mentioned.
85. CKI., Nos. 39 and 40.
86. Nagaraja Rao, M.S., and Ramesh, K.V. (ed.),
Copper Plate Inscriptions from Karnataka : Recent
Discoveries, No. 2 (Shivalli Plates).
87. CKI., No. 46.
88. Ibid., No. 25.
89. Ibid., No. 4.
90. Ibid., No. 23.
91. Ibid., No. 4, translation.
92. Mahalingam, Op. cit., p. 38; Gopal, Op. cit.,
p. XXXV.

93. Ramesh, K.V., A History of South Kanara, p. 27.
94. CKI., No. 4.
95. Ibid., No. 23.
96. Ibid., pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.
97. Ibid., p. XXXX.
98. Ibid., No. 5.
99. Ibid., pp. XXXXV-XXXXVI.
100. Ibid., p. XXXXI.
101. CII. Vol V, p xxv
102. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.), The Classical Age, p. 183.
103. CII. Vol V, p xxv
104. CKI., No. 6.
105. Gopal, B.R., Minor Dynasties of South India - Karnataka, p. 13.
106. CKI., p. XXXXIII.
107. Ibid., No. 13.
108. Ibid., No. 23.
109. Ibid., No. 35.
110. Mahalingam, Op. cit., p. 44.
111. CKI., No. 34.
112. Ibid., p. L.
113. Ibid., No. 33.

114. Ibid., p. XXXXVII.
115. Ibid., No. 13.
116. Ibid., No. 7.
117. Ibid., No. 8.
118. Ibid., No. 9.
119. Ibid., No. 13.
120. Ibid., No. 14.
121. Panchamukhi, Karnatakada Itihasa, p. 131.
122. CKI., p. LII.
123. Ibid., No. 16.
124. Ibid., No. 9.
125. Ibid., No. 8 and No. 13.
126. Ibid., No. 9.
127. Ibid., No. 10 and No. 11.
128. Ibid., No. 13.
129. Ibid., No. 15.
130. Ibid., No. 16.
131. Ibid., No. 22.
132. Ibid., No. 23.
133. "Kadamba-Pallava-Ganga Relations", presented
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135. Gopal, B.R., Minor Dynasties of South India - Karnataka, p. 13.
136. CKI., No. 20.
137. Panchamukhi, Op. cit., p. 136.
138. CKI., No. 25.
139. Ibid., No. 46.
140. Ibid., No. 19.
141. Ibid., No. 26.
142. Ibid., No. 28.
143. Ibid., No. 27.
144. Ibid., No. 18.
145. Ibid., No. 21.
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149. Ibid., No. 26.
150. Ibid., No. 20.
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152. Ibid., No. 30.
153. Ibid., Nos. 31 and 32.

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157. Ibid., No. 32.
158. Ibid., No. 39.
159. Ibid., No. 32.
160. Ibid., No. 43.
161. Ibid., No. 37.
162. Ibid., No. 33.
163. Ibid., No. 35.
164. Ibid., No. 33.
165. Ibid., No. 34.
166. Ibid., No. 40.
167. Ibid., No. 35.
168. Ibid., No. 36.
169. Ibid., No. 34.
170. Ibid., No. 35.
171. Ibid., No. 36.
172. Ibid., No. 40.
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175. Ibid.
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179. Ibid., No. 43.
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182. Ibid., No. 45.
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184. Ibid., No. 48.
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196. IA., Vol. VI, p. 94; IA., Vol. XIX, p. 146.
197. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 91-94.
198. EI., Vol. XXXII, pp. 317-24.
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201. Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I., pp. 429-30, cited by Ramesh, Op. cit., p. 62.
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- 277. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. 35.
- 278. ARSIE., 1933-34, BK. No. 114.
- 279. EI., Vol. XVI, pp. 81 ff.
- 280. ARSIE., 1933-34, BK. No. 113.
- 281. ARIE., 1950-51, No. 49.
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- 284. Ibid., p. 37.
- 285. ARIE., 1946-47, No. 210; IA., Vol. IV, p. 203.
- 286. Ibid., pp. 36-37.
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- 288. Desai, P.B., et. al., Op. cit., pp. 169-171.
- 289. KRISI, 1943-44, No. 3.
- 290. EC., Vol. VIII, (Old), Sb. 317.
- 291. ARIE., 1947-48, No. 198.
- 292. ARSIE., 1933-34, BK. No. 27.
- 293. Ibid., 1939-40, BK. No. 11.
- 294. KRISI, 1943-44, No. 4.

295. Gudagudi record, ARIE., 1947-48, No. 198.
296. EC., Vol. VII (Old), Sk. 295.
297. EI., Vol. XVI, Pp. 68 ff.
298. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 183 ff; EC., Vol. VI (Old), Sk. 51 and 130.
299. SII., Vol. XX, No. 49.
300. EC., Vol. VII (Old) Sk. 44, 124.
301. Ibid., Sk. 297.
302. MAR., 1930, No. 76; 1929, Nos. 54 and 65.
303. EI., Vol. XIII, p. 303, Verse 18. There is no reason to believe, as held by Moraes (Op. cit., p. 109, 126) that an agreement was arrived between Kīrtivarma and his uncle Śāntivarma according to which the latter was to succeed the government of Hānagal province while the former was to administer Banavāsi-12000.
304. ARSIE., 1943-44, BK. No. 12.
305. Ibid., 1934-35, BK. No. 66, Ukkund record; it mentions a mahapradhāna Somēśvarabhaṭṭa as governing the Eradārunūru (Belvola + Puligere) and Banavāsi-12000.
306. Gopal, B.R., Minor Dynasties....., p. 41.
307. ARIE., 1945-46, No. 244.

308. ARSIE., 1933-34, BK. No. 12.
309. EC., Vol. VII (Old), Sk. 98.
310. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. 41.
311. ARIE., 1947-48, No. 222 (Nidasingi record).
312. Ibid., 1949-50, No. 126 (Mulgund record).
313. EC., Vol. VII (Old), Hl. 47.
314. ARIE., 1946-47, No. 203.
315. EC., Vol. VII (Old), Hl. 47.
316. Ibid., Sk. 133.
317. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. 43.
318. ARIE., 1949-50, No. 89.
319. Ibid., 1957-58, No. 278.
320. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. 43.
321. ARSIE., 1932-33, BK. No. 45.
322. Gopal, B.R., Op. cit., p. 47.
323. EI., Vol. XVI, pp. 36-37.
324. EC., Vol. VIII (Old), Sb. 169.
325. SII., XX, No. 250.
326. Gopal, Op. cit., p. 45.
327. ARIE., 1945-46, No. 237.
328. ARSIE., 1944-45, BK. No. 2.

329. SII., Vol. XX, No. 251. Gopal has pointed out that the regnal year is actually 7 instead of 1; Op. cit., p. 79, note 99.
330. Gopal, Op. cit., p. 45.
331. SII., Vol. XX, No. 249.
332. KRISI, 1945-46, No. 32.
333. Gopal, Op. cit., p. 46.
334. EC., VIII, (Old), Sb. 517.
335. We have deviated from the genealogy given by Gopal (Op. cit., p. 47) with reference to the succession after Māvuli Taila, following the Kuppagaḍḍe inscription which mentions Kīrtivarma and Kamadēva as grandsons of Kīrtivarma (son of Śāntivarma) and not of Taila II.
336. SII., Vol. XX, No. 227.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION



C H A P T E R 1 1 1

ADMINISTRATION

While examining the political history of Banavāsi earlier, it had been pointed out that there was no conclusive evidence to show that under the Mauryas the Vanavāsa country formed a part of ^{the} Mayuran empire.¹ Accordingly, it would be unreasonable here to extrapolate the structure of the Mauryan administration to the Vanavāsi region. However, under the Sātavāhanas for the first time, we get clear indications of the inclusion of at least a part of the Vanavāsa kingdom in their empire. Right from this period till the close of the period dealt with in this study, we notice that the basic feature of the Government was monarchical. The Banavāsi country was ruled by the king, through a feudatory or a governor or directly by the King himself. As has been pointed out elsewhere, under the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Sātākarni the Vanavāsa country came to be a part of the Sātavāhana empire. Possibly the Sātavāhanas instituted their kith and kin like the Chuṭus at the head of Banavāsi region. With their downfall, these dynasties ruled for a short period until they were replaced by the Kadambas.

It has been pointed out by the earlier writers that the Sātavāhanas followed the same policy as had been laid down by Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, Mānava Dharmaśāstra,

and the like.² In fact, the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi expressly states that "He properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the trivarga and sympathised fully with weal and woe of the citizens".³ The trivarga is composed of Dharma, Artha and Kāma and the statement cited above is in accordance with the principles laid down by Kauṭilya.

Under the Sātavāhanas, the king was the supreme authority. The succession to the throne was hereditary in the male line. The kings of the dynasty performed Vedic sacrifices like Aśvamedha and Rājasūya. They were not content with the simple title Rājā, but assumed titles like Rājaraño i.e. king of kings. A detailed picture of the Sātavāhana administration is not furnished by the inscriptions. The dominion was governed by feudatory chieftains and royal officers. The Banavāsi province itself was probably under the Chutus who functioned as feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. The state was divided into a number of Āhāras or Rāshṭras consisting of at least one central town called Nigama and a number of villages called Grāmas. A few royal officers can be identified from Sātavāhana inscriptions.⁴ The Amātyas were governors of Āhāras. The Rājāmātyas probably attended on the king constituting the advisory body. Specific tasks were commissioned to be executed by Mahāmātra. The supervision of stores was looked after by Bhāṇḍagārika. The Heraṇika functioned as a treasurer. The Mahāsēnapati

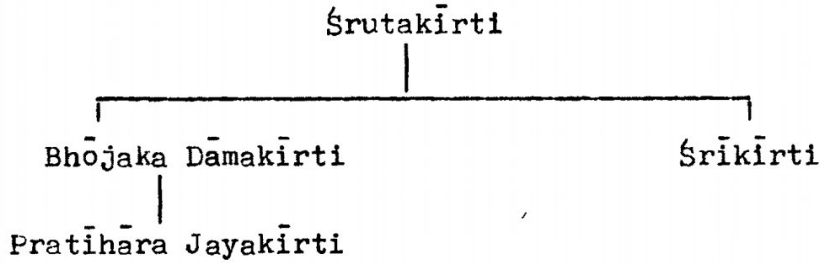
who sometimes acted as governor was also a commander of State forces. The Lēkhaka worked as the secretary of state and drafted all documents emanating from the king. The registration of such documents was looked after by Nibandhakāras. There could have been other departments such as those of Police, Finance, Justice, Army, Agriculture, Industries, etc., although inscriptions do not refer to them. The Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas ruled as feudatory chieftains. The smallest administrative units were grāmas and Nigamas. The Gāthāsaptasati of Hāla refers to grāmaṇi, who administered about 5-10 villages. Considerable autonomy was enjoyed by the administrators managing villages and towns. The towns were centres of commercial activity. Some of these seem to have had an assembly of the citizens called Nigama-Sabhā. Frequent references are found to the term Grihapati. This may have been the designation of the head of a certain number of household cultivators. Sometimes, Grihapatis were also members of Nigamasabhās. References are also found to Śrēṇi meaning a guild. These institutions administered local affairs within their own spheres of activity.

With the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the feudatory houses in various parts of their empire assumed independence. In Banavāsi it was the Chuṭu family and possibly they introduced hardly any change in the administration of the region. Titles like Rājā and Mahārāja are encountered in their inscriptions.⁵ There were ministers

like Amātya and Mahāvallabharajjuka who are mentioned in connection with grants. Thus an Amātya Khadasāti or Skandasvāti is mentioned as having supervised the grants made by Śivakhaḍa Nāgasiri, the mother of Yuvarāja and daughter of the Mahārāja of Mahābhuvī family.⁶ Similarly in the same period, mention is made of Mahāvallabharajjuka, who was commanded by the king that the specified grant for the God had been made.⁷

Under the Kadambas also, we get hardly any information about the details of the administrative functioning of the kingdom. The rulers began to assume somewhat glorious titles like Dharma Mahārājādhirāja which occurs in the grants of almost all the kings of the dynasty.⁸ Officers assisting the king particularly in the administration of the provincial governments are occasionally mentioned. It would appear that in many cases even the succession of the ministers was hereditary. However, the ministers were not necessarily Brāhmaṇas. A good instance of this is that of the administrative officers stationed in Halsi which was the second capital of the Kadambas. In the Halsi plates of Kākusthavarma we are told that Senāpati Śrutakīrti saved the life of Yuvarāja Kākusthavarma and as a reward he was granted land in Khēṭagrāma.⁹ In the later inscriptions of the Kadambas themselves found in Halsi, we get information about fresh grants or renewals made to the successors of Śrutakīrti. The genealogy of the family to the time of Ravivarma can be reconstructed

as follows :¹⁰



In Mrigeśa's inscription from Dēvagiri, a Senāpati Naravara is mentioned.¹¹ In some other inscriptions of the same king, one Kīrtivara is stated to have written the records.¹² It is difficult to pin-point the functions of these officers. In the inscriptions which are actually meant for recording grants, they are either mentioned as recipients of the grant or the writers of the grants. Possibly, apart from looking after the military administration of the region in which they were stationed, they were also expected to look after the records of the grants made by the kings in their region. Other offices mentioned in the contemporary records consist of Āyuktaka and Dēśamātya. In an inscription of Mrigeśa a Jiyanta is mentioned as the Āyuktaka and recipient of the grant.¹³ In an inscription of Ravivarma from Sirsi, one Nīlakaṇṭha is described as Dēśamātya and the royal physician (Vaidya).¹⁴ The post of private secretary, Rahasyādhikṛita has been mentioned in the inscription of Mādhātṛivarma.¹⁵ At the lower level there were officers looking after village administration

also. They are referred to as Grāmabhōjakas.¹⁶

For administrative convenience the kingdom under the Kadāmbas was divided into various provinces. The most important places serving as administrative headquarters of the provinces were Triparvata, Palāśikā and Uchchangi. For quite sometime, these were ruled by the different branches of the main Kadamba line. Apart from these, there were some other areas which were invested with the feudatory families. Thus in the Halmiḍi inscription we get references to an administrative area called Naridā-vilenāḍu which was ruled over by chiefs named Mṛigēśa and Nāga.¹⁷ There are also references to Alupagaṇa, the Bāṇa and the Sēndraka.¹⁸ Apparently the feudatory families ruled over their areas hereditarily. They were expected to provide military assistance to their overlord at times of war. Another family of the feudatories of the Kadāmbas is that of the Kēkayas.¹⁹ They were ruling over the coastal region around Honnāvar. The feudatory families appear to have been considerably free in their areas of the jurisdictions. Sometimes they issued copper plates in their own name, though they mentioned their overlords. For instance, the Honnāvar plates of Kēkaya Chitrasēna mentions Chitrasēna Kella as the issuing authority though at the beginning, mention is made of his overlord Ravimahārāja.²⁰ The same record also mentions Jinanandi, son of Simha as the Sēnāpati.

Another feudatory family which finds mention in the early Kadamba inscriptions was that of the Sēndrakas. The Halsi plates of Harivarma which record a gift of a village to a Jaina temple at Palāsikā states that the grant was made at the request of Bhānuśaktirāja, who was an ornament of the Sēndraka family.²¹ From the records of the early Chālukyas it is known that the Sēndrakas had shifted their allegiance to the Chālukya rulers. But the Kadamba record referred to above shows that at least till 524-525 A.D., the Sēndrakas had been the feudatories of the Kadambas of Banavasi. All the kings of this family bore names ending with Śakti.

After the Chālukya conquest of Banavāsi the independent status of the kingdom of the Kadambas was lost. The region was reduced to the position of a mere administrative unit designated the Banavāsi Maṇḍala. The Chālukyas wrested the authority from the Kadamba hands and placed the administration of Banavāsi Maṇḍala into the hands of their trusted feudatories, the Ālupas, with whom they had matrimonial relations also.

The Chālukya king was a supreme monarch with an imperial status. The kings bore various titles such as 'Satyāśraya', Prithvivallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Bhaṭṭāraka, Paramēśvara, etc. Sometimes their religious inclination is also suggested by the titles. A majority of the kings before the accession of Vikramāditya I bore the title Paramabhāgayatha, i.e., great devotee of Viṣṇu.

The Chālukya kings became converts to Śaivism with Vikramāditya I, who held the title Paramamahēśvara, great devotee of Mahēśvara.

As in the case of the Kadambas, the succession of kings to the throne under the Chālukyas was from father to son. The eldest son was entitled for succession to the throne, the coronation and accession to the throne took place only after the reigning king was dead. However, in cases when the rightful heir was premature, the younger brother of the king succeeded as a regent, as in the case of Maṅgaḷēsa who succeeded after his brother Kīrtivarma I. Political expansion through conquest and conversion and protection of the conquered territories was an important goal before the king. Often the kings kept up to this expectation. The sons of the kings were holding the position of the prince and led the royal armies on behalf of the kings. But in cases of imperial expansion, the conquests are known to have been made by the king himself. An interesting aspect of the Chālukya policy under Pulikēśi II, was the establishment of new royal houses, in freshly conquered territories to ease the administrative problems. Thus Pulikēśi established two Chālukya houses, one in Andhra and the other in Gujarat. This policy kept the empire of the Chālukyas quite safe from the north eastern and north-western quarters.

From Chālukyan inscriptions very little can be made of the council of ministers. There are indications that the entire administration of the state was practically vested with the members of the whole Royal family and the feudatories who were placed in charge of different regions inherited by them.

A few inscriptions suggest that the queen and the princesses took an active part in public affairs and were devoted to learning and charity. For instance, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Chandraditya, who was the elder brother of Vikramaditya I, issued two grants in her own name. She was a poetess who won high esteem at the hands of literary critics. Likewise princess Kumkuma Mahādēvī, younger sister of Vijayaditya and wife of the Āḷupa king was present with him in his camp at Huhundinagara, in 705 A.D. and took the initiative to cause a grant of a village to be made to a learned Brāhmaṇa.²² A stone inscription from Kurtakōṭi belonging to the time of Vijayaditya mentions that Lokaṭinimmaḍi was administering Kuruttakuṇṭa.²³ A suggestion has been made that she could be the same as Lokamahādēvī, the daughter-in-law of Vijayaditya and queen of Vikramaditya II.²⁴

Certain courtesans associated with kings are mentioned in some records. More important among them is the name of Viṇāpōṭi, the beloved of Vijayaditya, who

made certain grants to the temple at Mahākūṭa.²⁵ A few other offices are also mentioned in Chālukya records. Mahāsandhivigrahika is more common among them and connotes the office of a great maker of peace and war. Śrīrāma Niravadya, Anivārīta and Dhanañjaya were some of the Mahāsandhivigrahikas mentioned in the Chālukya records.²⁶

As mentioned earlier, the administration of different provinces within the empire was allowed to be in the hands of the feudatory families who were expected to obey the suzerainty of the emperor and pay periodical tributes. Ālupas, Sindas, Sēndrakas, Bāṇas, Gaṅgas, Telugu-Chōḷas, etc. were among these families. References are made to terms like Rāshṭra, Vishaya and Nāḍu.²⁷ Their sizes were not regular. Vishayapatis, Sāmantas, Grāma-bhōgikas, Mahattaras etc. are mentioned in the records.²⁸ However, the duties of these offices are not clearly defined.

As in the Kadamba times, the village remained the lowest unit of administration even under Chālukyas. The village officer titled Gāmūḍa or Gāvūḍa is frequently mentioned in the records of the period.²⁹ He served as a link between the villagers and the king's government. It is not clear from the records whether the Gāūḍas were appointed by the centre or enjoyed the office hereditarily. The Grāmabhōgikas mentioned in Sanskrit

inscriptions are probably identical with Gaūṇḍas. In the Āḍūr inscription, apart from Gaūṇḍa, the office of karana or village accountant is also mentioned.³⁰ The regulation of social and economic affairs and to some extent the details of village administration were in the hands of Mahājanas or the village elders. The Mahājanas of Bādāmi are stated to have taken the initiative in causing a cave to be excavated in honour of the deceased Chālukya king (?) Satyāśraya, probably Pulikēśi II.³¹ Beniyūr was being governed by the Mahājanas of that place in the reign of Vijayāditya.³² In another case the permission of the Mahājanas is stated to have been obtained before giving away a piece of land to a temple as grant.³³

The relation between the government of the king and the administrative institutions is furnished to some extent by the Lakshmēśvara inscription.³⁴ The charter of rights and duties (Āchāravyāvasthe) as given by the Yuvarāja to the Mahājanas, Nagara, and the eighteen Prakritis of Puligere is recorded in this inscription. It mentions Rājapurusha (Royal Official) and lays on them the duty of protecting certain established rights. It prescribes the rates of taxes to be given to Dēsādhipatis every year in Vaiśākha month and to the Sreni (Guild) in Kārtika month.

As to taxation, not many details can be had from the available records. The Lakshmēśvara inscription of

Yuvarāja Vikramāditya seems to indicate that persons who owned houses and house sites paid taxes on them, whereas the families which had no house property paid taxes of fifteen (15), ten (10), seven (7), and five (5) panas per year to the king's officers. Taxes were also collected on occasions of public festivals and auspicious domestic functions. In the Balligāve inscription of the time of Vinayāditya,³⁵ it is stated that an Adhikāri named Kandarba obtained a royal proclamation in the territories of Nāgarakhanda and Jejugura remitting the contribution due to the royal treasury from the levies on great festivals, salt and property of the childless. In the move to gain this concession, Dāsas of Balligāve, certain temple establishments and three Gamuṇḍas, representing different villages, are stated to have participated. Another inscription of Vijayāditya's reign from Bādāmi records a gift of several taxes and incomes in kind like oil, sugar etc. to be paid at the prescribed rate by each shop to the shrine of Trimūrtis there.³⁶ Similarly an Aihole inscription of 709 A.D. speaks of the gift of oil at one ladle full per oil mill to the God of the Huchchimalli temple.³⁷ A similar gift of betel leaves amounting to 50 leaves per load to the God Āditya of Komarasiṅga's temple at Aihole is recorded in an inscription of Vikramāditya II.³⁸ This gift had the sanction of the king as well as the Nakara before the Mahājanas. At Paṭṭadakal a levy of two Kuḷa of millet on each mattar of land was assigned to God Lōkēśvara in the reign of the same king.³⁹

Thus taxation was both in cash and kind.

Under the Rāshtrakūṭas not much changes were noticed in the overall pattern of administrative machine. The king stood at its head and his office was hereditary. The crown passed on to the eldest son who was formally proclaimed Yuvarāja when he became sufficiently old and experienced. He helped the king in carrying on the administration and in military expeditions. The names of the various offices of the ministers cannot be obtained from the records, but some ministers like Dalla, the foreign minister of Dhruva, enjoyed the feudatory status.⁴⁰ The ministers are often described as right hand of the king. The Rāshtrakūṭa empire consisted partly of vassal states and partly of directly administered areas. Certain feudatories like those of southern Gujarat enjoyed practically complete autonomy. They granted villages without imperial sanction. They had their own sub-feudatories also. The other feudatories had very little independent power and were to obtain sanction of the king before alienating revenues or granting villages. Periodically they attended the emperor's court and expressed personal loyalty and paid regular tribute. They were also expected to supply the required fighting troops for campaigns. Often they took part along with their forces in military campaigns of the king. If they rebelled they were subjected to indignities.

As pointed out above, for administrative convenience, the Rāshtrakūṭas divided their empire into several provinces or Rāshṭras. The governors of provinces were either feudatory chiefs or persons appointed by dint of their distinguished military services. An example of the latter can be seen in the appointment of Baṅkēya as the Viceroy of Banavāsi-12000 under Amoghavarsha I.⁴¹ The provincial governors had their capitals and courts. They were of the status of Mahāsāmanta or Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and quite often bore the title of king, i.e. Rāja in Sanskrit or Arasa in Kannāḍa. Under Dhruva, the governor of Banavāsi was called Māraḥarasa and under Gōvinda III, Rājāditya Rājaparamēśvara.⁴² Baṅkēya and his descendents who ruled in the Banavāsi province from about 850 A.D., were hereditary Mahāsāmantas. As pointed out elsewhere, the administrators of Banavāsi were frequently changed by the Rāshtrakūṭa overlords possibly because of the fear of the feudatory families becoming powerful.⁴³ The provincial governors were enjoying considerable powers over their subordinates. In 912 A.D. for instance, when Mahāsāmanta Kaliviṭṭarasa was governor of Banavāsi, his subordinate Nālgāvunda of Giduvalge-70 became disaffected and was about to escape to Gaṅgavāḍi. However, on the orders of the Governor he was arrested in Kumbise District.⁴⁴ Earlier around 797 A.D. when Chitravāhana, the ruler of Āluvakhēḍa-6,000 became insubordinate, the Governor of Banavāsi attacked him.⁴⁵ It is clear from the

above instances that the provincial governors had large standing armies under their control, and that these were used in times of peace for controlling disobedient officers and feudatories as also for maintaining peace and order; at times of war these forces were sent to assist the imperial forces to fight battles. This is indicated by the Konṇur inscription of Amōghavarsha I, wherein, we find the governor of Banavāsi who was fighting with the Gaṅgas, ran upto the capital to suppress a rebellion there with his own battallions and then again joined the imperial forces in the campaign against the Pallavas.⁴⁶

Provincial governors were also the head of the revenue administration. This is clear from the grants in which officers were requested not to interfere with the peaceful enjoyment of the rent-free lands and the villages granted by the emperors. In conjunction with the local bodies the revenue settlement of the villages was carried out by these officers. Such a fresh settlement was necessitated in 941 A.D. by the drying up of an old canal, referred to in the inscription of Sorab taluk, then in the province of Banavāsi-12,000.⁴⁷

In spite of the considerable powers enjoyed by the provincial officers, the making of grants of villages was not in their hands. For instance, Baṅkēya, the governor of Banavāsi under Amōghavarsha I, had to take the permission of the king to make the grant of village in favour

of a Jaina temple.⁴⁸ Only in a doubtful case in Niḍa-
gundi inscription do we find Baṅkēya giving some culti-
vable lands to the temple of Mahādēva at the request of
his son.⁴⁹

The provinces were further sub-divided into smaller
regions called Bhuktis which were in their turn sub-divided
into smaller circles of ten to thirty villages. Thus we
find references to smaller divisions like Atkūru-12 as
a reward for Maṇalēra who showed bravery in the battle
fought with the Chōlas.⁵⁰ There were hereditary, local
revenue officers like Nāḍagaūṇḍas, in Karnāṭaka. Some-
times the smaller administrative divisions were ruled
over by kith and kin of provincial governors. For
instance when Baṅkēya was governing over Banavāsi-12,000,
his son Kundatte was the officer over Nilgundige-12,⁵¹
However, another person named Rūpa is also mentioned as
having been summoned before Baṅkēya made grant of land
at his son's request to a local temple. It would thus
seem that there were hereditary headmen ruling over smaller
divisions. Sometimes even the ladies are known to have
held the posts of Gāvūṇḍa. A good example of this can
be had from an inscription from Śikāripura, which records
that when the Nāḷgaūṇḍa of Nāgarakhaṇḍa died, fighting
for Kalaviṭṭarasa, the governor of Banavāsi, his wife
succeeded to the office and managed the affairs for seven
years.⁵² She was a Jaina by faith and when she decided

to perform Sallekhana she sent for her daughter and nominated her to the office of Nālgauṇḍa.

The village was the lowest unit of the administration. It was in the charge of a village headman whose position was hereditary. He was more a representative of the people. This can be realised from an inscription in Śikaripura region. It is stated therein that a headman died of broken heart in 999 A.D. on seeing the ruin of his own town. Gāvūṇḍa is the term used to designate his office.⁵³

The defence of the village was in charge of the village headman. Because of the frequent wars, every villager had to be ready and trained in the use of arms. There are examples of even bangle sellers fighting to the bitter end.⁵⁴ Cattle lifting sometimes caused animosity between neighbouring villages and the numerous hero stones scattered in Karnaṭaka record the death of such heroes in the fight defending the cattle. Good number of Sorab inscriptions belonging to reigns of Kṛishṇa II, Kṛishṇa III and Karka II refer to deaths of village heroes caused by cattle-lifting or Gōgrahana. The village headmen were themselves at the head of the militia and were good fighters.

An inscription of 975 A.D. refers to a robber's attack on Kundana, a son of Gāvūṇḍa Kevasekula who fought and died with the robbers.⁵⁵ In a mutual clash among the

Nāḷagaundās, another village headman is stated to have died in the same place. As in the previous regime, the Mahājanas continued to represent the village assembly and had considerable local powers.

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, under whom the Kadambas resumed feudatoryship, continued the inherited administrative system in their empire. The numerous inscriptions which belong to their period are scattered all over their empire and the information that can be gathered from them about their administrative machinery is copious. The Chālukyas like their forefathers had the Varāha lāñchhana but their feudatories in Banavāsī region had the Simha lāñchhana. Chālukya monarch was at the top of the administrative system and the succession was hereditary, generally in the eldest male line. There were exceptions when the ruling king either had no male issue or was too weak to carry on the administration smoothly. For instance, Vikramāditya V and his brothers succeeded to the throne because Irivabedāṅga had no male issue. Likewise Vikramāditya VI, inspite of being not the eldest son, waged war against his brother and deposed him from the throne. The office of Yuvarāja went to the heir-apparent. When there was no qualified person in the royal family, the place of Yuvarāja was temporarily conferred on some trusted official. The king styled himself with high-sounding imperial titles such as Samastabhuvanaśraya,

Śrīprithvivallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Parama-
bhaṭṭāraka, Satyāśrayakulatilaka, Chālukyābharana Śrīmat
 etc. followed by the favourite title of individual king.
 Thus Sōmēśvara I had titles Āhavamalla and Trailōkya-
malla; Vikramāditya VI had the title Tribhuvanamālla and
 so on. The relations of the Chālukya kings with their
 feudatories were cordial compared to those of the Hoysaḷas.
 The emperors as recorded in the contemporary works were
 expected to honour the tradition established in respect
 of the conquered territory. Subordinate rulers were
 allowed to use their original legal titles and preserve
 their state intact in every respect. However, they were
 expected also to openly acknowledge the sovereignty of
 the emperor by reciting his imperial titles and reign
 and then introducing their own respective praśastis with
 some phrases like tatpāda-padmōpajīvi. The inscriptions
 of the period followed this model in respect of the
 feudatories and their subordinates. The petitions for
 making grants were made in a similar fashion to the
 feudatories also. The rule of the feudatories is described
 in the same glowing terms as those of the emperors. Like
 their emperors, they are stated to have been ruling from
Nelevīḍu i.e. camps or Rājadhānis i.e. capitals. They
 are also described as suppressing the wicked and pro-
 tecting the good and spending their leisure in noble and
 pleasant social and intellectual pursuits. They had their

own courts, ministers and administrative staff. In one of the inscriptions, as many as five ministers of a single feudatory are mentioned.⁵⁶

For administrative convenience, the empire had been divided into various administrative units. They were named after an important place, serving as the centre of activity in that division. Thus there were Banavāsi-12,000, Palasige-12,000, Gaṅgavādi-96,000 and so on. Each of these had sub-divisions with some important places as the headquarters. Thus Mugunda-30 was located in Mahārājavādi-Nādu which itself was a part of Palasige-12,000.⁵⁷ As to the suffixed numbers, there has been some controversy. However, it is generally accepted that the suffixed number represents the approximate number of villages contained in the respective division.⁵⁸

In the Banavāsi-12,000 area, there were frequent changes in the administrative officers. The revenue officer in 1112 A.D. during the reign of Vikramāditya VI was Mahāsāmantādhipati Anantapālayya, who was in charge of the Vadḍarāvula tax of the entire Banavāsi-12,000 region as well as of the remaining administrative divisions, which were in his charge.⁵⁹ His subordinates Daṇḍanāyaka Aḷiya Mādirājarasa was in charge of Vadḍarāvula of Banavāsi-12,000, Halasige-12,000, Nolambavādi-32,000.⁶⁰

Sometimes two or more major administrative divisions were kept in charge of the royal office. For

instance, under Somēśvara I, in 1055 A.D. Vikramāditya VI was appointed as governor over Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000 and Banavāsi-12,000. A couple of years later, Nolambavāḍi-32,000 was also added to his jurisdiction.⁶¹

There is evidence that provincial heads were transferred from time to time from one division to another. In such transfers, the efficiency of the officer seems to have counted much. Perhaps, stopping the growth of vested interests was also intended by these transfers. In the Banavāsi region, this can be attested to by frequent changes in the administrative heads. Under the Rāshtrakūṭas, Kadamba Chaṭṭayya was its governor.⁶² He continued to be the governor even after the Chālukyas replaced Rāshtrakūṭas. Between 979 and 993 A.D., there are inscriptions referring to Chaṭṭayya as the head of Banavāsi division.⁶³ But he did not rule this area without break. In September-October 984 A.D. Chaṭṭayya was governing Banavāsi,⁶⁴ while in November-December of the same year, a person named Śōbanarasa was ruling the same region.⁶⁵ Once again in 991 A.D. Śōbanarasa was administering Banavāsi besides Eraḍārunūru.⁶⁶ In 993 A.D. again Chaṭṭayya was back at Banavāsi. He was succeeded by Bhīmarasa.⁶⁷

A similar feature can be noticed in the reign of Vikramāditya VI. In 1110 A.D. Periyadaṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla was governing Banavāsi region.⁶⁸ In 1121 he was

once again the governor of Banavāsi division.⁷⁰ Again in 1126, he was administering Veṅgimaṇḍala.⁷¹ All these go to indicate that there were transfers of the governors of provinces according to the wish of the king.

There were also smaller units of the provinces which were called Kampanas. The Officer in charge of the Kampanas was known as Manneya.

About the administration of justice within the provinces, there is hardly any material forthcoming. However, it may be guessed that the petty disputes were settled at the village level by the village headmen themselves, while disputes of higher order would have been settled in the presence of the provincial governors or the court of the king according to the nature of the dispute.

The sources of revenue for the state and the provincial governors were various. It appears that a sixth of the share of the produce went to the royal treasury.⁷² Thus the land assessment would have been at 1/6th of the total produce. Apart from land revenue, revenues came in the form of taxes. Some of these were in kind, while others were in cash. From the available records, it is clear that there were taxes on oil mills, on beasts of burden, betel leaves, salt etc.⁷³ There also appear to have been taxes on village artisans such as carpenters, goldsmiths, barbers, blacksmiths, potters etc.⁷⁴

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIETY



C H A P T E R I V

THE SOCIETY

From the dawn of history in Karnataka, the evidence confirms that the Āryan influence had made itself felt considerably. Aśōkan inscriptions found in Karnataka do not directly refer to the castes like the Brāhmaṇas as they do elsewhere in India.¹ But by the period of the Sāta-vāhanas, we already get references to such names as Kṛishṇa and to the Vedic sacrifices. It may be because of the fact that the Buddhists were in full swing, trying to make their influence felt on the people that the direct evidences seem to be lacking in respect of other classes of the society.

From the time of the Kadambas, we are on surer ground as to the influence of the four-fold caste system on the society of the Hindus. The Tālagunda inscription indicates that Brāhmaṇas were a very respected class devoted to the study of the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas and the like, performing various Vedic rituals and sacrifices.² Mayūraśarma himself is stated to have given up the Kuśa grass and the sacrificial ladle in favour of the sword because he had been insulted by a member of the Kshatriya caste. There is no doubt that the Vedic religion had survived, but it seems to have survived only in an altered form in which the purāṇic mythology played a considerably dominant role. The study of the Purāṇas and

Śāstras had become an integral part of the Brāhmaṇa education. The Brāhmaṇas were obviously the leaders of education and therefore were able to perpetuate the ideas of Vedism and other religious sects of Hinduism.

Within the Brāhmaṇa fold we find the existence of different Śākhās or branches based upon the specific Vedic branch which they specialised in. Well-versed in Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas and grammar, they were learned and engaged in the six-fold duties. Their influence on the society was not restricted to mere education and ritualism but extended to political, social and intellectual fields. The Agrahāras and Brahmapuris, served as important ^{Centres} is particularly implied when we look into the number of grants they received from the early Kadamba kings. There does not, however, seem to have been any restriction on their taking up arms when the need arose. The conversion of Mayūravarma to Kshatriya class is a case in point.³

The status and respect enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas in the society is amply illustrated by the following statement contained in some of the Kadamba inscriptions :

"The property of Brāhmaṇas is a terrible poison. For poison kills one man, while the property of a Brāhmaṇa kills children and grand children. If one desires to conceal the sin (chhidram) of taking away Brahmin property, that sin will develop a hundred fold and the

person will go to ruin.. If one enjoys Brāhmaṇa's property with desire, it will burn up his body; if it is occupied by force it will burn up the family to the seventh generation. If something is struck by lightning, burnt by fire, stolen by thieves or confiscated by virtue of a royal punishment, some of it may yet survive. But nothing will survive of what is stricken by Brahmin's anger".⁴

The Brāhmaṇas of various Śākhās and Gōtras mentioned in the early Kadamba inscriptions are listed below :

<u>Name</u>	<u>Gōtra</u>	<u>Śākhā</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Śrīnāgadatta	Kauṇḍinya	-	CKI No. 1
Koṇḍamāna	Kauṇḍinya	-	<u>Ibid.</u>
Rudrārya	Bhārgava		
Nandyārya	Bhārgava	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 7
Nāgasvāmi	Bhāradvāja	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 10
Sarvasvāmi	Aupaghanisa	Atharvaveda	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 11
Piṅgalasvāmi	Aupaghanisa	Atharvaveda	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 11
Sōmaśarmārya	Gautama	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 12
Dēvaśarma	Kauṇḍinya	Taittiriya	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 16
Gōvindasvāmi	Kāśyapa	Yajurveda	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 17
Bhavasvāmi	Dhaumya	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 19
Āryasvāmi	Kāśyapa	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 21
Pāśupata	Bhāradvāja	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 21
Triyambaka- svāmi	Ātrēya	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 25
Śivaśarma	Kaimbalasa	Atharvaveda	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 31

Prajāpatiśarma	Kaimbalasa	Atharvavēda	<u>CKI</u> No. 31
Dhātṛīśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Nandiśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Dharmaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Vaikuṇṭhaśarma	Kalasa	-do-	-do-
Vasuśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Nāgaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Maṇḍanaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Vishṇuśarma	Gārgasa	-do-	-do-
Prajāpatiśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Pitṛīśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Kumāraśarma	Kotsa	-do-	-do-
Tvashtīśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Skandaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Varuṇaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Yaśaśarma	Śravishṭa	-do-	-do-
Āryaśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Paśupatiśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Mitraśarma	-do-	-do-	-do-
Vanaśarma	Chaulīya	-do-	-do-
Prajāpatiśarma	Vlandata	-do-	-do-
Kumāraśarma	Kāśyapa	-do-	-do-
Vīradāmaśarma	Kaunḍinya	Vēdāṅgas	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 32
Ravisvāmi	Daupama- bhyava	Rig, Yajur, Sāma	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 39
Vishṇuśarma	Kauśika	All Vēdas	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 40
Śaṅkarasvāmi	Kāśyapa	Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 41

Sōmasvāmi	Vārāhī	Rīgvēda	<u>CKI</u> No. 42
Bhavasvāmi	Harita	Chhandas	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 43
Bhūtaśarma	Kāśyapa	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 45
Triambakasvāmi	Ātrēya	Vēdas	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 46
Nārāyaṇaśarma	Gautama	-	<u>Ibid.</u> , No. 47
Sōma(śarma)	Kāśyapa	-	<u>Ibid.</u>

Though the Brāhmaṇas during the early Kadamba period exerted considerable influence on the society, they do not seem to have controlled the activities of the followers of other religious sects like Jainism, as they sometimes did in later periods. However, atleast in one case in the last part of the early Kadamba rule, their role is implied. In the Guḍṇāpur inscription of Ravivarma, it is stated that the various grants recorded therein were gifted through the Brāhmaṇas.⁵ The grants seem to have pertained to Jaina temples.

The Kshtriya class represented the warriors which included the king, the administrators, the commanders of the army and the soldiers. It was the duty of the king to establish harmony among the subjects, protect the boundaries of kingdom, to keep the people always in prosperity and happiness and coordinate the administration of the kingdom. He was to have a complete knowledge of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstra. Some of the Kadamba kings are expressly described as masters in all these subjects.⁶ The protection

of and the patronage to Brāhmaṇical religions and the heterodox religious sects like Buddhism and Jainism was also under his purview. Grants of lands to different religious organisations usually form the subject matter of the Kadamba inscriptions. Apart from patronage to the different religious faiths, welfare activities were also undertaken by the Kadamba kings. One important aspect of such an activity was the digging up of tanks for irrigation purposes. The inscription of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, for instance, records among other things the making of a taṭāga i.e. tank.⁷ Similarly the inscription of Mayūravarma, the first independent Kadamba king, found at Chandravaḷḷi, records the strengthening of the banks of a tank which already existed.⁸ Similar references are also found in the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma⁹ and Gudṇapur inscription of Ravivarma.¹⁰

The warrior class seems to have also included followers of non-Brahmanical creeds. In the Halsi plates of Kākusthavarma¹⁰ it is stated that Yuvarāja Kākusthavarma made grants for the Jaina establishment in Palāsikā to Śrutakīrti, the general as a reward for saving him, apparently in a war. Śrutakīrti himself was a follower of Jainism and his successors were also Jainas. This is indicated by an inscription of Ravivarma found in the same place.¹¹

The heroic deeds of warriors and generals were



amply rewarded by kings and feudatories. The Halmidi inscription of the time of Kākusthavarma furnishes such an instance.¹² It is stated in it that Viḥa-arasa, the son of the Ellabhaṭāri, bravely fought and defeated the Pallavas in a battle, wherein the Pallavas assisted by the Kēkaya army fought against the Kadambas whose army included the Sēndrakas and Bāṇas. Mṛigēśa and Nāga who were officers of Naridāvilenāḍu gave away the villages Palmidi and Mūlivaḷḷi to Viḥa-arasa as Bāḷgaḷchu.

The community of businessmen formed a third stratum of the society. They belonged to the Vaishya caste. They were called as Śrēshthis or Seṭṭis. They moved from place to place with their commodities. They organised themselves into guilds depending upon the produced commodities. Thus we find references to Gavaregas, Gātrigas, Seṭṭis, Seṭṭiguttas, Ankakāras, Bīras, Bīravaṇigas, Gaṇḍigas, etc.¹³ They were rich communities and often patronised various religious sects. Sometimes they erected temples and made grants for their maintenance and worship. Sometimes the merchants invested money as capital with the temple trustees, the interest on which was to be utilized for various kinds of worship, perpetual lamps, sattras, etc.

People followed various professions and specialised in the production of certain commodities. Thus there was a class of weavers who manufactured clothes.¹⁴ There

were Nāvidas who were barbers.¹⁵ There were washermen called Maḍivālas.¹⁶ There were paṭṭagāras who produced silk and other finer varieties of clothes.¹⁷ The chip-pigas or tailors were makers of dress.¹⁸ There were people who extracted oil by hand oil-mill or bullock drawn oil-mill, who were called Telligas.¹⁹ There were Kumbāras who manufactured earthen pots.²⁰ The Mādaras were the basket weavers. There were sellers of betel leaves called Tāmbuligas.²¹ The baḷegāras were the sellers of bangles.²² However, the references to these various professions are found particularly in inscriptions of 10th-14th centuries A.D.

The community of the land tillers or agriculturists was known as vokkaligas. The importance given to the cultivation of land is amply demonstrated by the fact that numerous tanks were dug and irrigational facilities were provided at various places. Some of the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions found in the Banavāsimaṇḍala carry the depiction of a plough at the top. There is a view that the Rāshtrakūṭas were originally prosperous cultivators, who later on dominated the political scene. Some of the inscriptions refer to them as Kuṭumbinaḥ which is interpreted as meaning 'cultivators'.²³

The lowermost stratum of the society namely the Śūdras is hardly referred to in any of the inscriptions. However, the absence of evidence is no indication of the

non-existence of that class. Since the Dharmaśāstras were held in high esteem throughout this period, we may justly assume that their contents reflected the structure of the society of the region.

Food, Custumes and Ornaments :

The food items of the people consisted of the preparations made out of various grains, vegetables, milk products, fruits and the like. Some inscriptions refer to rice. There are also references to jack-fruit trees.²⁴ Even to-day in the Malnāḍ region and the coastal belts of Karnataka, rice happens to be the staple food of the people. To some extent, in the coastal area, rāgi is also used and it is consumed in liquid form. The antiquity of rāgi in Karnataka goes back to protohistoric times,²⁵ and it is no wonder if it was consumed particularly by agriculturists and poorer sections of the people in the Banavāsi-Manḍala. There are references in the Mānasollāsa of Sōmēśvara III, the Kalyāṇa Chālukya king, to tasty dishes enjoyed by the king and his fellowmen, such as rice with curds mixed with pepper, ginger, cardamom, preparations like Laḍḍukas, Khīra, saline preparation of roots and fruits. Even iddalige prepared out of blackgram (Udaḍ Dāl) is also mentioned by him.²⁶

Apart from vegetarian food, some sections of the society must have also enjoyed non-vegetarian food. Asōkan

inscriptions refer to the reduction in the number of animals slaughtered in the royal kitchen for food. He mentions deer and peacock among the animals killed for food. Thus the Kshatriya class may have consumed non-vegetarian food from quite early times. In the coastal area, fish would have been another important item of food. A separate community of fishermen existed here. Some sections of the Brāhmaṇas are known to consume fish also.

The hunters or bēḍas hunted varieties of wild animals some of which furnished flesh for food. These include rabbits, wild pigs and such other animals. Birds were also caught and consumed.

Costumes

The Sculptures of various periods give us an idea of the manner in which the dresses were worn by the people. The Sātavāhana sculptures found in Sannati (in Gulbarga District) and a few fragmentary sculptures discovered in Banavāsi, as well as various hero stones and sati stones found scattered in Banavāsi Maṇḍala furnish a general idea of the costumes. The gents usually wore a lower garment tightly around the waist. Sometimes an overgarment was also tied around the waist and tucked on one side. The upper part of the body was usually left bare. The ladies also dressed in the same manner. The sculptures of divinities belonging to various sects suggest that the pattern of dressing remained more or less the

same with minor alterations. Some of the terracotta figurines belonging to the early historic^{al} period depict Yakshas with a peculiar crown which may indicate that similar crowns or caps were used by some people. Men and women alike tied their hair in various forms of bun. Men usually tied their hair in bun on the top of the head, while women tied it at the back. That the hair was further decorated and neatly combed is clearly indicated by the female head of the early historical period recently discovered at Banavāsi. Ear ornaments of different types were worn by men and women. Other types of ornaments include varieties of necklaces, anklets, wristlets, armlets, etc. These were worn by both men and women. Sometimes women covered their forehead completely with bangles. In the sculptures of the medieval period we find depictions of varieties of Makutas (crowns), necklaces, Vijayantī-hāras, Stanahāras, Udarabandhas, wristlets, mēkhalas etc. Beautiful hair-dresses are also noticed.

The depictions on hero stones show the heroes fighting with swords, bow, arrow etc. They tied the dagger at their waist, obviously along with the sheath. Hides of various kinds are also noticed. Some of them were circular, some square or rectangular and some even shaped in the form of a wild boar. A recently discovered herostone in Banavāsi has the depiction of the last mentioned type of hide.²⁷

Some of the cosmetics mentioned in contemporary literary works and epigraphs may also be noted here. Red lac (yavaka) was used for decorating the feet of ladies. Añjanabindhus were put on the face for beautifying it. Eyes were also decorated with Añjana. That toe-nails were painted with alaktaka dye by ladies is noted in one of the copper plate inscriptions.²⁸ Hand-mirrors, usually made of brass were common.

Amusements

It is difficult to delineate the various types of amusements and pastimes only on the basis of epigraphical records, because such records pertain to royal classes. While describing the personality of the kings, sometimes, references are made to their hobbies. For instance, in the Dēvagiri plates of Mṛigēśavarma, the king is described as well-exercised in many sports, particularly riding on elephants and horses and wielding of weapons of war.²⁹ Similarly, the Dēvagiri plates of Dēvavarma mention that he was an expert in the science of horses, music and archery.³⁰ Similar words are spoken of in respect of Viṣṇuvarma in the Banahalli plates of Kṛishṇavarma II.³¹ We need not, however, think that these were the only sports and amusements. Discourses and listening to interesting episodes drawn from Purāṇas, Itihāsas, epics, dramas etc. must have played an important role in day-to-

day life.³² Dancing and music by courtesans,³³ dramas staged in Maṭhas and Agrahāras,³⁴ playing on musical instruments like flute,³⁵ drum,³⁶ mṛidangam, pipes, vīṇa, lyre etc. are occasionally referred to in inscriptions and later literature. Varieties of musical instruments are found depicted in Bādāmi Chālukya, Rāshṭrakūṭa, later Chālukya and Hoysaḷa sculptures. Painting was another pastime referred to in Mānasollāsa of Somēśvara. Depictions of dice-play are found both in Bādāmi Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa sculpture. Wrestling is also frequently depicted in sculptures. Swinging was also a common amusement. Cock-fight, ram-fight, bull-fight etc. were also common amusements.³⁷

Certain festivals were also performed for the enjoyment of the public. The Guḍṇāpur inscription furnishes important information in this respect. It states that in the season of Spring, the festival of Manmatha was to be performed. In case it was not possible to celebrate the festival in Madhumāsa, it could be celebrated in Vaiśākha or whenever it was convenient. The festival was meant for the prosperity and happiness and enjoyment of the people. The king was also to participate in the procession though it was not compulsory.³⁸

Similarly, the Halsi plates of Ravivarma refer to the festival of Jinendra which was to last for eight days every year from the full moon day of Kārtika month.³⁹

The folk dramas like the Yakshagāna are common features of the Kanara district from quite early times. However, for want of evidence their antiquity cannot be fixed. Considering the fact that the themes for such folk dramas are drawn from the stories of the epics and Purāṇas, one may state that they must have had considerably ancient origins. Tālamaddale is another feature of the region in which the dialogues are uttered interspersed with singing assisted by tāla and the drum called Maddale. A Vijayanagara inscription mentions Tālamaddale. But it is found in Bellary District.⁴⁰

Position of Women

From very early times, women enjoyed an honourable place in the society. They had education which consisted of fine arts like music, dance and painting in addition to general education. The women belonging to the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya communities in particular enjoyed high status. Although the examples are few and far between, the available ones do suggest the contributions made by women to learning and administration. One of the excellent cases in evidence is that of Vijjikā who was a great Sanskrit poetess and playwright. A work, entitled Kaumudīmahōtsava has been ascribed to her. But unfortunately it has come down to us only in fragments. Medieval writers have preserved fragments of her writing discussing their literary value. In one of her poems she has

described herself Karnāṭa Sarasvatī. She was the daughter-in-law of Chālukya king Pulikēśi II. An inscription referring to Vijjikā as an administrator has also been found.⁴¹ That women also played an important role in the administration is indicated by a number of inscriptions. More important among them is the instance of the Hāngal Kadamba queen Akkādevī who is regarded as one of the great women administrators of Karnataka.⁴² She ruled numerous administrative divisions such as Banavāsi-12000, Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Toragale-60, Māsiyavāḍi-140 etc. for nearly 50 years. One of her epithets, viz. Raṇabhairavī suggests that she took active part in battles. She was paternal aunt of Chālukya monarch Sōmēśvara I. Likewise Maillādevī, the queen of Jayakēśi II of the Kadambas of Goa, lived a glorious life associating herself with her husband in matters of administration.⁴³ A lady named Lakshmīdevī is mentioned as a revenue officer in the reign of Kadamba king Permāḍidēva.⁴⁴

The role of women in promoting religious activities is most striking throughout the period. For instance, in the Banavāsi Nāga inscription, we come to know of the erection of a Vihāra, a tank, and a Nāga image obviously of Buddhist affiliation, by Śivakhaḍa Nāgasirī, a Chuṭu queen.⁴⁵ Numerous instances can be cited from Nagarjuna-konda in Andhra Pradesh in which women of royal family or otherwise made donations for the cause of Buddhist religion. Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, the queens of

Vikramāditya II (733-44) erected two Śiva temples in Paṭṭadakal in memory of the three conquests of their husband over Kāñchī and named the temples after themselves as Lokēśvara and Trailōkyēśvara. In course of time, women became more inclined towards Jainism. Jaina temples were erected and patronised at their behest. They also patronised Jain poets who wrote Jaina Purāṇas. A good example of this is found in Attimabbe who in the 11th century erected a Basadi in Lakkunḍi (Gadag Taluk) and patronised the poet Ranna, as also got prepared a thousand copies of Ādipurāṇa for distribution.

Queen Akkādevī patronised all religions equally.⁴⁶ She caused the temple of Traipuruṣa to be erected at Agrahāra Berūr. She is described as practicing the religious observance prescribed by Jaina, Buddha, Ananta and Rudra.

Common women enjoyed singing and dancing. The dēvadāsīs were specialised particularly in this kind of activity. Dance was regarded as a fine art which entertained all classes of people.

Evidence does not suggest the prevalence of child marriage. Girls were married only after they had attained puberty, probably between the age of 12 years and 16 years. In the royal circles the Svayamvara system was in vogue, to a considerable extent. It is narrated by Hēmachandra in his work Dvyāśraya that Mayanaḷadēvī, the daughter of

Jayakēśi I of Gōa Kadambas, fell in love with Chālukya Karna of Gujarat and went to the latter's capital to marry him.⁴⁷ Inter-caste marriages do not seem to have been prevalent.

The region ruled by the Kadambas is replete with Satī stones. This indicates that the custom of Satī or the burning of the widow with the dead body of her husband was practised particularly by the warrior class. The epigraphical evidence regarding this practice is furnished by a record in Sorab Taluk which states that when Ravivarma the Kadamba king died, one of his queens obtained mukti.⁴⁸ The practice of Satī was probably voluntary and not forced upon the widow. There is no evidence of widow remarriages.

In relation to the death of royal ladies, a certain peculiar custom seems to have been present in early Karnataka. An inscription of the Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭīputra Puḷumāvi, discovered in Banavāsi, states that it was the memorial slab (chāyāpathara) of the queen.⁴⁹ A similar instance has come to light recently belonging to the times of the Kadambas of Banavāsi. The inscription which comes from Kelagundi states that while king Ravivarma was ruling the country, his senior queen named Mallige passed away and the Padugal (memorial stone) was erected.⁵⁰ This shows that erecting of memorial stones, sometimes with inscriptions on it, was a prevalent custom in early Karnataka.

Self-Sacrifice

Instances of self-sacrifice are not wanting in the inscriptions of the region. We hear of persons sacrificing their life voluntarily on various occasions. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that when king Taila died, his Tantrapāla (political secretary) Bappaṇṇa, killed himself to fulfil his vow that he would live and die with king.⁵¹ Another record states that "when the dweller on the broad chest of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sōvidēvarasa, the senior queen Lachēhaladēvī went to svarga, fulfilling the vow he had previously uttered saying "I will die with the Dēvī", he i.e. Bōka, died.⁵² The common method of putting oneself to death in such cases, seems to have been by beheading oneself.⁵³ This is suggested by the above inscription. This instance is similar to the institution of 'Garuḍa' prevalent during the Hoysala period when a close follower or servant of the king killed himself when the king died.

Sometimes vows of self-destruction were entered into when a cherished object was accomplished. An inscription from Sorab Taluk informs that a man vowed to give his head to the Goddess at Hayve if the king Śānti-varma should obtain a son. The man who had vowed as such surrendered himself to the soldiers to be beheaded, after a son was born to the king. The king is said to have granted a sum of 24 Hērā-drammas to perform his final rights.⁵⁴ In an inscription of 1123 A.D. Bapparasa and

his wife are stated to have paid a visit to a temple in the rice fields and the former vowed to give his head to swing on the pole before the God at Koṇḍasabhāvi, if the king obtained a son.⁵⁵ Another curious reference to self-sacrifice is found in an inscription of 1050 A.D. in which it is stated that a man vowed to continually pull out the nails of his finger to prevent the grant of a fort to a particular person. But the grant was made. Therefore he cut off the finger and having climbed to the top of Bhēruṇḍa Pillar, jumped down on a row of spear-shaped stakes and got himself killed.⁵⁶

The guarding of the territories and of village cows sometimes led to severe fights between rival parties. In such cases the heroes who sacrificed their lives were honoured by erecting hero stones. The bereaved families were given grants as consolation. A good number of such hero stones are noticed in the Banavāsi Maṇḍala.



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C H A P T E R V

RELIGION, LANGUAGE & LITERATURE



C H A P T E R V

RELIGION, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

RELIGION :

Various religious systems flourished in the region of Banavāsi through the ages. The information that can be gleaned on them from various sources, though scanty and disjointed, is, nevertheless, confirmative. Of the religions that flourished in Banavāsi, the first to which reference is made in our sources of study is Buddhism.

Buddhism :

After the departure of the Śākyamuni Buddha from this world, Buddhist councils are said to have been held at various times in order to preserve and conserve the tenets preached by him. The third such Council, according to the Buddhist chronicles, was held in the reign of Aśoka Maurya the great. It was held under the leadership of Thēra Moggalīputta who, after the conclusion of the Council, had decided to establish the Buddhist religion in different parts of the country. The Mahāvamśa, which furnishes this information, states that he sent forth different Thēras to different parts of this country on that mission. It is interesting to note that one of the

countries mentioned in this connection is Vanavāsa which is unanimously identified by scholars as the country of Banavāsi.

According to the information contained in the Mahāvamsā, the thēra named Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa. Some more details pertaining to the conversion of the people of Vanavāsa country by Thēra Rakkhita are also found in this work. The translation of the relevant passages of the Mahāvamsā runs as follows :

"The Thēra Rakkhita, who had gone to Vanavāsa, preached, floating in the air in the midst of the people, the Anamataggasamyutha. The conversion of sixty thousand persons took place, thirty seven thousand in number received the pabbajja from him, five hundred vihāras were founded in the country. Thus did the Thēra establish the conqueror".¹

The passage cited above is of considerable interest for, it appears to suggest that the religion of the Buddha entered the Banavāsi region for the first time during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. The mission of Rakkhita must have had compelling effect on the minds of the people of the region. Although it cannot be denied that the statement contained in the Mahāvamsā in respect of the conversion of the people might be exaggerated, nevertheless, it is suggestive of the fact that large-scale

conversion did take place. Many of them must have become monks of the Buddhist order and founded a number of viḥāras in various parts of Vanavāsa country. To sum up, the Buddhist religion for the first time found itself fully established in the Banavāsi region in the reign of Aśoka Maurya, i.e., in the 3rd century B.C.

The impact of Buddhism in the region is confirmed only by the scanty evidence coming from the post-Mauryan epoch. While most of the Buddhist antiquities lie buried under the ground awaiting the spade of the archaeologist to uncover them, the small scale excavations at Banavāsi have brought to light the existence of Chaitya-like apsidal structures, at least some of which may be Buddhist in affiliation.² Buddhist religion must have flourished in the region, when it was under the Sātavāhana hegemony. Under these rulers, numerous rock excavations of Buddhist Chaityas were patronised in the Western Deccan. The first epigraphical evidence to suggest the prevalence of the Buddhist religion in Banavāsi is that of Viṇhukaḍa - Chuṭukalānanda Śātakarṇi dated in his 12th regnal year.³ It states that his daughter Śivaskanda Nāgaśrī made a gift of the Nāga sculpture (on which this inscription is engraved) a tank and viḥāra (apparently Buddhist) (Pl. XIII, 1). The inscription is ascribed palaeographically to 3rd century A.D. The sculpture was made by Naṭaka, the disciple of Damōraka, under the superintendentship of Khadasāti. An interesting aspect of the inscription

is that, as in many other contemporary places of Buddhist interest in the Deccan as also in Banavāsi region, the royal ladies stood by the religion of the Buddha. It appears that the ladies, particularly of the wealthy class, were attracted to Buddhism.

Except the above inscription, there are hardly any others of the period which throw light on Buddhism of the region. However, mention may here be made of the coins of the Ānanda kings, particularly the ones of Śivalānanda, which bear symbols possibly of Buddhist affiliation. On one side of the coin is depicted the so-called "Hill" symbol which may stand for stūpa.⁴ The other side bears the depiction of a tree surrounded by a railing, probably symbolising the Bōdhi tree. One of the common auspicious symbols employed in early Buddhist art, namely the triratna, is found stamped on some pot sherds belonging to early historical period discovered at Banavāsi. Mention may also be made here of an inscribed pedestal stating that the image was made by stone-carpenter Gola's disciple and got made by one Balamita (Pl. XIII, 2). This may belong to the same period as the Nāga record.

The fact that Buddhism continued to exist in the region in the time of the Kadambas is established by a few records of those kings, although belonging to the later part of their rule. The Dāvaṇagere plates of Ravi-



varma (year 34) commence with an invocation to the Buddha as follows :

"Victorious is Sarvajña (the Omniscient), Sarvalōkanātha (lord of all the worlds i.e. Buddha) whose lotus-like feet are bathed by the rays of the gems in the Sun".⁵

It is stated in the record that at the request of Haridatta, for making the charity, the king granted Asandi for worship in the Siddhāyatana and for the prosperity of the Saṅgha, additional nivartanas of land belonging to the embankment in the village of Koravega, one nivartana of land, the others, the wet fields dependent upon the embankment to the south of Asandi, one nivartana of land at the time of construction of the embankment. The king granted altogether three nivartanas at Vedirkoḍe, in the presence of all his vassals and the land was to be enjoyed with the right of samādhi and was free from uñchchha. Thus the existence of a Buddhist temple and perhaps a monastery attached to it is confirmed by this record. The grant was made on the occasion of a holy tithi in the bright fortnight of the month of Madhu (Chaitra), the constellation being Rōhiṇī.

One more inscription of the period referring to Buddhism is the Honnāvar Plates of Kēkaya Chitrasēna (Year 1).⁶ The inscription begins with an invocation to Buddha who is described as endowed with infinite qualities, as a refuge of virtues, as born in the family of

Śuddhōdhana. It is stated that, in the reign of Ravi, the illustrious Chitrasēna Mahākella, on the full-moon-day of Āśvayuja, gave the land called Kanasapukkollī along with a garden in Napitapalli, to the Āryasaṅgha.

Although undisputed evidence is lacking, one would expect that the form of Buddhism prevalent in the region was Mahāyāna Buddhism. The image of Buddha or Bōdhi-sattva belonging to the 3rd century A.D., as described above, is one of the pointers to this fact. After the Kadamba period, evidence of Buddhism in Banavāsi region proper is wanting till about the 11th century.

However, the existence of a Chaitya-cum-Vihāra in Aihole belonging to about 7th century A.D. does indicate that Buddhism in North Karnāṭaka had not faded away.⁷ The figure of Buddha found on the ceiling of this double storeyed structure and a couple of images of the Buddha, along with the inscriptions mentioning Ānanda Sthavira and Mahēndra on one of the pillars,⁸ attest to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Hiuen-tsang records that numerous viḥāras existed in the western parts of Karnāṭaka. The arrival of newer trends in Buddhism into the region during the post-Chālukya period is exemplified in an inscription of 968 A.D., found in Kadiri in Mangalore, which records the setting up of an image of Lōkēśvara^{which} is also preserved in the same temple.⁹ Although found outside Banavāsi region, this evidence is a sure indication of

the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism in the western parts of Karnāṭaka. In the 11th or 12th century, an image of Tārābhagavatī, a deity of the Vajrayānists, was installed in Banavāsi itself (Pl. XXII, 2). This mutilated sculpture in the gallery has a good parallel in Baḷligāve where also a better preserved image of the same deity had been found long back. It was probably got made by one Nāgiyakka of that place. The existence of Bōdhi-satva Avalōkitēśvara in Baḷligāve is attested to by an image of that deity. The Vajrayāna form of Buddhism seems to have been considerably popular in Shimoga - Sirsi - Dharwad track.¹⁰ At Dambaḷ an inscription records the existence of a Buddhist viḥāra named after Tārābhagavatī.¹¹ So also at Kōḷivāḍ near Hubli was found an inscribed image of Tārābhagavatī.¹²

Although these evidences indicate the continuation of Buddhist religion in the region, it should be noted that, compared to other religious sects, the position enjoyed by the Buddhist religion was relatively feeble. Ultimately it must have faded away from the map of Karnāṭaka during the period that followed.

Jainism :

Early references to the prevalence of Jainism in Banavāsi region are wanting. If the tradition that Chandragupta Maurya traversed to the south along with



Jaina ascetic Bhadrabāhu and that he breathed his last as an ascetic in Śravaṇabelagoḷa is to be believed, the possibility of Jainism having made its expansion in the Kuntala country may not be ruled out. Positive indication of Jainism commences with the reign of the Kadamba rulers. In Banavāsī itself, recently, a mutilated Jaina image carved out of reddish sandstone has come to light. It represents a Jaina Tīrthāṅkara and was meant for worship in a shrine (Pl. XVI, 2). Kadamba inscriptions themselves occasionally record grants made to Jaina temples and Jaina Sanghas.

The Halsi plates of Kākusthavarma,¹³ dated in the eightieth year of his victory, begin with an invocation to Bhagavān Jinendra. It records an interesting information that the grant was made to the Commander-in-chief, Śrutakīrti, for having saved the king. The grant included Balovarakshetra in Khēṭa grāma. The Khēṭagrāma is stated to have belonged to the Arahantas. The name Śrutakīrti is interesting as it appears to suggest the followers of the Yāpanīya sect of Jainas. Palāsīkā or Halsi, now in Belgaum district, was the second capital of the Kadambas, and from other contemporary records it is known to have been an important centre of Jainas of the Yāpanīya sect.

The Dēvagiri copper plate of the third year of Mṛigēśavarma¹⁴ is another record furnishing information

about Jainism. This inscription also begins with an invocation to Arahats. It is stated that in the month of Kārtika, on the tenth day of the bright half of the moon, a grant of 40 nivartanas of black soil land was donated by the king for the purpose of worship, repairs etc. of the Chaityālaya in Bṛihatparalūra. Some additional land was also given near the Chaityālaya itself for the courtyard for the Chaityālaya. The inscription is stated to have been written by Dāmakīrti who was holding the office of Bhōjaka. He has been described as Parama-dhārmika i.e., greatly devoted to Dharma.

The Dēvagiri plates of the fourth regnal year of Mṛigesā is also a Jaina record.¹⁵ The inscription records that in the eighth fortnight of the Varsha season, on the full-moon day, the king having devided the village of Kavalavāngu into three parts, granted one to the Jainendra of Arahāchala, another to Śvētapata Mahāsramaṇa Saṅgha and the third to the ascetics of Nirgrantha Mahāsramaṇa Saṅgha. The first part was to be used for the worship of and offerings to the deity as well as for repairs of the Jaina temple.

The Halsi plates of Mṛigēśa's eighth regnal year¹⁶ inform that the king erected a Jinālaya in Palāsikā for the merit of his father Śāntivarma. He also granted 33 nivartanas of land to the ascetics of the Yāpaniṇya, Nirgrantha and Kūrchaka saṅghas. The land so granted

is stated to have been between Mātrisarit (river) and Inganī Saṅgama. A bhōjaka named Dāmaka and an āyukta named Jiyanta are mentioned as ājñaptis. The record is interesting because it refers to the three sects of the Jainas, namely the Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and Kūr-chakas in Halsi. This is another indication of Halsi being an early Jaina centre serving as a refuge of various Jaina sects. The erection of a Jaina temple by the king for the merit of his father is also an interesting fact. It raises a faint doubt as to whether Śānti-varma was a follower of Jainism. In this connection, it is interesting to know that Śāntinātha is one of the Tīrthankaras.

Mṛigēśa's son Ravivarma is also known to have made grants in favour of Jainism. His copper plate record from Halsi,¹⁷ dated in his eleventh regnal year, begins with an invocation to Bhagavān Jinendra. The record states that in the Hemanta season, on the tenth day of the sixth fortnight, fifteen nivartanas of land was granted for anointing of Jina on every full moon day. The Bhōjaka Paṇḍara made the donation at the order of Bhānuvarma on behalf of the king. The donated land is stated to have ^{been} situated in the Kardampati kshētra of Palāsikā.

Another undated record of Ravivarma from Halsi¹⁸ records a grant of four nivartanas of land for the worship of Jinendra by the Prasāda of Dāmākīrti's mother.

Dāmakīrti's younger brother Śrīkīrti is also mentioned in the record.

A third set of copper plates also from Halsi, belonging to the reign of Ravivarma,¹⁹ is an important Jaina record of the period. It refers to the grants made to the Jaina establishments at Halsi earlier by Kākustha, Śantivarma and Mrigēśa. Kākusthavarma had given a village named Purukhēṭa to Śrutakīrti, a Jain ascetic. Śantivarma and his son, Mrigēśa, had made donations to the mother of Dāmakīrti who was probably the son of Śvētakīrti. Ravivarma is stated to have made over that grant to Pratihāra Jayakīrti, the son of Dāmakīrti. It is also stated that the income from the donated village should be used for the festivals to be performed in the Jaina temple, on the full moon day of Kārtika month every year for eight days. It was also to be utilised for maintaining and protecting the Jaina ascetics of the Yāpanīya Saṅgha and the enlightened persons like Kumāradatta. At the end of the record, it is stated that wherever the worship of Jinendra is carried out, there will be development, increase in the power of the rulers and the fearlessness in the towns.

A much debated epigraph of Ravivarma comes from Guḍṇāpur about five kilometers from Banavāsi.²⁰ This record begins with an invocation to a god who is described as a Manmatha to the celestial ladies. The record states that a shrine for Manmatha was erected near the

royal palace and the lands in several villages were given away for worship in that temple. A festival was to be conducted in the month of Madhu or in any other month convenient. There has arisen a controversy over the issue of the identification of the god Manmatha. Gopal has argued that Manmatha mentioned in the record is no other than Gommaṭa or Bāhubali of the Jainas. He has read the term describing the temple as Kāmajinālaya instead of Kāmadēvalāya. However, some other scholars like Gai²¹ have argued that the temple was dedicated to the Hindu god Kāma or Manmatha. It may be noted that the record also refers to some other temples in the nearby region which seemingly suggests that the temple might have been of Jaina affiliation. For instance, a Kāma-jinālaya of Hakinīpalli is referred to. Similarly, reference is also made to the temple of Padmāvatī who is a well known Jaina Yakshī. Thus the Kadambas in the last part of their reign seem to have become associated with the Jaina religion, so much so as to erect a Jaina temple in the vicinity of the royal palace. If the identification of Manmatha with Gommaṭa or Bāhubali is correct, then the Guḍnāpur record would be the first positive evidence of the worship of Bāhubali among the Jainas, as early as 5th-6th centuries A.D. Similarly, this record furnishes the earliest evidences for the worship of Padmāvatī Yakshī in the Karnāṭaka region.

The successor of Ravivarmā, namely Harivarma, also patronised Jainism. His Halsi plates²² of the fifth year record that at the request of Bhānuśakti of the Sēndraka family, the king granted a village named Marade for the regular worship of the deity in the Chaityālaya at Palāsika and for the use of Sādhus. The grant was received by Dharmanandi who is stated to have belonged to a Śramaṇa-saṅgha named Aharishte.

The Kadambas of Tripurvata line also patronised Jainism. The Dēvagiri plates²³ of Yuvarāja Dēvavarman, son of Kṛishṇavarman I, record a grant of 12 nivartanas of land in Siddhakēdāra for worship and renovations of the Chaityālaya and for the members of the Yāpanīya Saṅgha. It is also stated that the land was given to Jina in Tripurvata for personal merit. Dēvagiri is in Dharwad District. The record ends with an invocation to Arhat.

The above survey shows that Yāpanīyas were the strongest among the Digāmbara Jaina cult during the early Kadamba rule. This position must have been retained by them through the Bādāmi Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa periods also. Under the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the centre of activity turned to the eastern part of Karnāṭaka and it is there that we see the existence of numerous Jaina establishments. Pulikēśi II patronised Ravikīrti and lavishly donated grants for the maintenance of the Jinendra

temple erected by the latter at Aihole.²⁴ Jaina caves were excavated both in Aihole and Bādāmi. Lakshmēśwar, the ancient Puligere, was another centre of the Jainas where the famous Saṅkha-jinālaya was located. Chālukyan queens made lavish grants for the Jaina establishment there. However, in the Banavāsi region itself, the picture as such is not clear during the Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa rule. By the time the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa took over the political leadership and the Kadambas resumed their rule in the Banavāsi region as local feudatories, Jainism had already expanded considerably all over Karnataka. Saundatti was one of the centres where the followers of Yāpanīya Saṅgha, Mūlasaṅgha etc. and their sub-sects like the Kāreyagaṇa, Pustakagachcha etc. received patronage from the kings and the feudatories. The ascetics of various anvayas founded establishments in different villages and towns. Unlike Buddhism, Jainism had become a living force in the region of Karnāṭaka.²⁵ Ladies, including the queens, were strongly behind it and helped it flourish.

In Banavāsi itself, a few bits of evidence in the form of Jaina sculptures (Pl. XXIII, 1) and Nishidhi stones are forthcoming. The fragmentary sculptures, now preserved in the sculpture gallery, are confirmative evidence of the fact that Jainism continued to flourish in this region. Even today a few Jaina families live here and in the vicinity of the Basadis a couple of Nishidhi

stones representing the death of Jainas, who followed the vow of Sallēkhana can still be seen. In Guḍṇāpura also, a few fragmentary Jaina images of 11th-12th century A.D. are noticed. Together, these evidences go far to indicate that Jainism played a considerably important role in Banavāsī-Guḍṇāpur area.

Balligāve, which is not far from Banavāsī, was an important religious and cultural centre from 10th to 14th centuries A.D. It is to be noted that in 1077 A.D., Chāvunḍaṇaḍādhīpati, brother of Nāgiyakka, erected the Basadi of Mallikāmōda-Śāntinātha here. There are references to Ashtōpavāsī-Bhaṭāra-Basadi, Śānti-Thīrthasahavāsī-Basadi, Kamalasēna-Basadi, Golavayyana-Basadi, Jujahuti Śāntinātha-Basadi, Pramathasēna-Basadi, etc. in this place. Numerous broken Jaina images found in this place are also an indication of Balligāve being an important Jaina Centre during this period.²⁶

Śaivism :

During the last centuries preceding the beginning of the Christian era, already two important sects of Hinduism, namely Śaivism and Vaishṇavism had begun to play a prominent role in the life of the people. Of these, Śaivism seems to have had deeper roots as a popular religion of the people. In Karnāṭaka, evidences of its early popularity can be found in inscriptions. For

instance, a record from Koṇṇūr in Dhārwaḍ District refers to the existence of a Mahādeva temple during the Śāta-vāhana period.²⁷ While discussing the political history of Banavāsi, it was pointed out that, the Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma, could be identical with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the great Śātavāhana king. The Tālagunda record mentions that the Śivaliṅga of Sthāṇa-Kundūru had been worshipped by Śātakarṇi and other rulers.²⁸ This seems to have come down as a genuine memory of the inhabitants of Tālagunda and recorded in the famous inscription. Thus the antiquity of Śaivism in the region can be taken back at least to the beginning of the Christian era if not earlier still. The Chuṭu kings had such names as Śivalānanda, Viṣṇurudra etc. which are also indicators of the influence of Śaivism in the region. The Maḷavallī record of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda invokes a god named Maḷapalīdeva who may be a Śaiva deity.²⁹ Several villages were redonated by Śivaskandavarma at a later date. The most important record of Śaiva affinity with the Kadamba period is the one from Tālagunda.³⁰ It begins with an obeisance to Śiva followed by an invocation to Śiva the bearer of matted hair. The record gives the genealogy of the Kadambas and mentions the excavation of tank in Sthāṇakundūra in the vicinity of the Śiva temple. The inscription closes with an invocation to Bhagavān Mahādeva who dwelt in Sthāṇakundūra. Considering the description

given in the record, it appears that the temple must have been regarded as of great antiquity by then itself. The god is described in various terms such as Bhāva, Ādideva etc. It is also clear that the place had been occupied by the Brāhmaṇas.

In the Halmiḍi inscription of Kākusthavarma,³¹ a person named Paśupati belonging to Alapagaṇa and Bhaṭarikula is referred to. Another record from Tālagunda,³² also of the same period, begins with an invocation to Śiva as Paśupati having Gaṅgā and the moon in his hair. This record states that grants were made for feeding thirty Brāhmaṇas in Sthānakuñjapura-Tīrtha i.e. Tālagunda.

In an inscription of Mṛigēśavarma³³ grants are recorded for two Brāhmaṇas named Rudrārya and Nandyārya of Bhārgava gōtra. Another record of the same king mentions of Somaśarma.³⁴ Kuntagaṇi plates of Ravivarma³⁵ mention the land on either side of the tank excavated in Variyaka village as Karpaṭeśvara. It was donated to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavasvāmi. Śirsi plates of Ravivarma, dated in his 35th regnal year,³⁶ record a grant on Kārtika Śukla Pañchamī to Śiva temple (Mahādēvāyatana) of Nīlakaṇṭha Dēśamātya who was the king's pet doctor. The grant included four nivartanas of land by Bambare taṭāka. The record also mentions one Āryasvāmyi and the Pāsupatas.

This is perhaps the first direct epigraphical reference in Karnāṭaka to the existence of Paśupata Śaivas. The inscription probably belonged to Saregrāma.

The Sangolli plates of the 8th regnal year of Harivarma³⁷ begin with an invocation to Śiva. It records a village named Tedava granted to 23 Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras. The king is described as Parama-māhēśvara, a great devotee of Śiva. Among the donee Brāhmaṇas, there were persons with Śaivite names, such as Śivaśarma, Nandisarma, Paśupatisarma, etc.

The Anaji inscription of Śivanandavarma (of Chitradurga District) describes the king as Parama-Mahēśvara.³⁸ It is stated that Śivanandavarma took to an ascetic way of life and passed away after a battle fought between the Pallavas and the soldiers of Kṛishṇavarma in which the latter were totally defeated. Śivanandavarma is supposed to have belonged to the family of the Kēkayas, possibly born of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarma I.

Śirsi plates of Kṛishṇavarma II, dated in his 19th regnal year,³⁹ mention the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa named Sōmasvāmi. In the Beṇṇūr plates of the same king, it is stated that, while he was on an expedition to Vaijayantī on the Śukla pratipadā of Pushya month, he granted a tenth portion of Palmaḍi village and six nivartanas of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavasvāmi, in front of Mahādēva temple at Inṅunagrāma.⁴⁰

The Shimoga plates Māndhātā⁴¹ record the grant of a house and six nivartanas of land in Kaggiḡrāma and another land called Chatushpāt-Kshētra in Palgalinī grāma to a Triyāmbakasvāmi of Ātrēya-gōtra. The villages donated were located to the south of Chennagiri (Shimoga District).

The Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma, found in Hassan District, mention the grant of Kirukudalure, a hamlet of Tagare Mahāgrāma, to one Bhūtaśarma of Kāśyapagōtra.⁴² The Aravaḷem (Goa) Śivaliṅga inscription,⁴³ which is only partially preserved, gives a beautiful description of the site consisting of gardens and forests where Hara i.e. Śiva was always present. This suggests the existence of a Śiva temple here. There is also a reference to Yōgis who were engaged in meditation and Yōgāsanas and who belonged to the Mahālaya i.e. Śivālaya. The inscription is ascribed to Kadamba Mrigēsavarma. It was inscribed on a pillar which had been later converted into Śivaliṅga and is installed in one of the shrines of the cave at Aravaḷem.

The direct reference to the Pāśupatas in the later records of the early Kadambas and indirect references through such names as Pāśupati in the earlier records clearly suggest that Pāśupata cult was one of the most important Śaiva sects in the first half of the first millenium A.D. This position continued to prevail in the

succeeding periods. The early Chālukyas were inclined to be the worshippers of Viṣṇu till the end of the reign of Pulikēśi II. In spite of this, they did erect some Śaiva temples such as the Śaiva caves at Bādāmi and Aihole and the Makuṭēśvara temple at Mahākūṭa. In the caves at Bādāmi which belong to the early phase of the Chālukya rule, there are depictions of Lakulīśa Pāsūpata in the region. The Chālukyas came under the direct spell of the Pāsūpata Śaivas from the time of Vikramāditya I who took the Śivamaṇḍala dīkṣhā at the hands of the Guru Sudarśanāchārya.⁴⁴ The conversion had its impact on the art and architecture of the Chālukyas. Most of the temples erected by the Chālukyas from the time of Vikramāditya I onwards were dedicated to Śiva. In fact, the area attracted Śaiva ascetics from North India also. The Trisūla Pillar inscription at Paṭṭadakal informs that it was erected by one Jñāna Śivāchārya who had come all the way from Mṛigathanīkāhāra on the northern banks of the Gaṅgā.⁴⁵ The followers of Pāsūpata sect were also called Lakulas and Mahēśvaras.

This position in relation to Pāsūpata Śaivism must have remained unaltered during the regime of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Kṛishṇa I erected a rock-cut temple for Śiva, at Ellōra. In Dantidurga's reign, a Buddhist vihāra at Ellōra was got converted into a Śaiva cave with beautiful carvings of Śiva's various feats.

The Pāsupata Śaivas, if we have to judge from the caves and temples dedicated to Śiva in the Chālukya and the Rāshtrakūṭa periods, do not seem to have been intolerant of other religious systems. Numerous depictions of various forms of Viṣṇu are found on these temples. Even in the post-Rāshtrakūṭa period, the same policy of religious tolerance continued in Karnāṭaka so far as the Pāsupatas were concerned.

An important centre of the Śaivas during the later Chālukya period was Balligāve. The Kōḍimaṭha, attached to the Kēdārēśvara temple there, probably came into existence around 1025 A.D.⁴⁶ By the 12th century A.D. it had become famous, so much so that in an inscription of 1162 A.D.,⁴⁷ it is stated that Balligāve was Dakṣiṇa-Kēdāra where the Brahmachāris and Śaiva ascetics performed penance. The Kōḍimaṭha seems to have been controlled by the Kālāmukhas. The Kālāmukha ascetics were well-versed in various branches of learning. For instance, in an inscription of Kaḷachuri Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, Vāmaśakti has been described as an expert in grammar, drama, music, poetry etc. as well as in the Lakulīśa-siddhānta.⁴⁸ There are also references to scholar ascetics like Kēdāraśakti, Śrīkaṇṭha, Sōmēśvara, Vidyābharaṇaśakti etc.⁴⁹ They are described as belonging to the Śaiva branch called Śakti-parikṣhā, incarnated in Parvatāvali.⁵⁰ The Pañchalīṅga-maṭha at Balligāve was another centre of activity of the

Kālāmukhas. Its founder was Lakulīśa, an expert in logic. Apart from this, other mathas of the Śaivas like Agnīśvara matha, Kallēśvara matha, Jagadaikamallēśvara matha, Tripurāntaka matha, Bhērūṇḍēśvara matha, Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvara matha also existed in this place.⁵¹

In Banavāsi itself, Śaivism was no less popular. The numerous lingas of early form, some of which can be found installed within the compound of Madhukēśvara complex, are sure indications of this fact. The Madhukēśvara temple itself, most probably a non-Śaiva temple originally, was later on converted to Śaiva dedication. However, by the time the Kadambas arose as feudatories of the later Chālukyas, the conversion of this temple had already taken place. Extensive renovations were introduced and the gateways built on the North and East by 12th century A.D. The Madhukēśvara temple became the centre of Śaiva activity in this place. Of the other temples in this place Ādimadhukēśvara, Kadambēśvara, Sithikanṭhēśvara, Pañchalīṅga, Prabhulīṅga, are important. Some of these shrines have Śivalīṅgas of early form.⁵²

Vaishṇavism :

One of the important religious sects, the antiquity of which can be traced back to the Vedic times, is that of the followers of Vaishṇavism. Like Rudra Śiva, Viṣṇu was a minor god of Vedic times, who rose to prominence

and attained to the status of the deity par excellence among his worshippers. In this development, various currents have contributed, the most important being that of the Bhāgavata - Pāñcharātras. By about the second century B.C., Bhāgavatism of the Vāsudēva worshippers had assumed prominence in central India.⁵³ Its impact was also felt in the Deccan. The Nāsik inscription of the Sātavāhana queen, Nāganikā, begins with the invocation to Saṅkarshana and Vāsudēva among other deities.⁵⁴ These two were important divinities worshipped by the Bhāgavatas. The influence of Viṣṇu worshippers continued during the Sātavāhana period. This is indicated by various epithets of Viṣṇu used in the Nāsik cave inscription of the 2nd century A.D.⁵⁵ A record from Chinnaṃ in Andhra Pradesh belonging to Yajñasrī Śātakarṇī and dated in the end of the 2nd century A.D. invokes Bhagavān Vāsudēva.⁵⁶

The above survey shows that Bhāgavatism had become considerably popular in the Deccan by the end of the 2nd century A.D.

In the Banavāsi region, the successors of the Sātavāhanas continued to help Vaiṣṇavism to retain its importance. The Chuṭu kings, for instance, bore such names as Viṣṇuskanda,⁵⁷ Viṣṇurudra, etc. In fact, an inscription found in Nāgarjunakoṇḍa and belonging to the Ābhīra king Vasuśeṇa⁵⁸ informs that in about the middle

of the 3rd century A.D., the kings of various places participated in the erection of a temple for God Ashṭa-bhujasvāmi which is a name of Viṣṇu. The list of kings in this inscription includes also the name of king Viṣṇurudra-Śivalānanda of Banavāsi. The description of the God Nārāyaṇa contained therein clearly indicates the status of Vaiṣṇavism in the contemporary society. There are also other records, ascribable to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., which attest to this fact. During the Pallava occupation period there was a further impetus for the growth of Bhāgavata religion. The early Pallava kings expressly claimed to be Parama-Bhāgavatas - great devotees of Viṣṇu.⁵⁹ The evidence of early Tamil literature and the Gāthāsaptasatī of Śātavāhana king Hāla further indicates that not only in the Deccan, but also in Tamil Nāḍu, Vaiṣṇavism had greatly influenced the society.⁶⁰

In the North Kanara region itself iconic worship of Viṣṇu is indicated by a two-armed stone image found at the village of Kontapāla. This sculpture has been stylistically assigned to the 3rd century A.D. It is said to conform to the iconography of Mānushavāsudēva given in the Vaikhānasāgama. This is an early indication of the existence of a Viṣṇu temple in the Kanara region.⁶¹

The early Kadamba records, many of which record grants to Brāhmaṇas following the Vēdic practices, are noted for the fact that the donees were followers of one

of the Brahmanical religious sects such as Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. From the time of Kākusthavarma particularly, we notice the occurrence of Viṣṇu's invocations in the records. This influence was possibly due to the fact that contemporaneously with the Kadambas, the Guptas in the north and the Vākāṭakas to the south of the Vindhyas were ardent followers of a Vaiṣṇavism.

The Halmiḍi inscription⁶² of the time of Kakusthavarma, commences with the invocation to Viṣṇu as Achyuta who is embraced by Śrī and who holds the Śārṅga bow and looks like the fire occurring at the end of the Yugas to the eyes of Demons, but is the pleasing Sudarśanachakra to the good people. The lotus-like carving at the top of the record is interpreted as representing the Sudarśana Chakra of Viṣṇu.⁶³

The next important inscription of the Kadambas to throw light on Vaiṣṇavism is the Banavāsi pillar inscription of Mṛigēśavarma (C. 460 A.D.).⁶⁴ It commences with an invocation to Viṣṇu who is described as radiant, the refuge of knowers of the Supreme Being and the Maker of the universe, who has manifold forms and who is all-powerful and the master of the movable and the immovable. The aspects of Bhakti, characteristic of the Bhāgavata religion, are clearly indicated by this record. The reference to the manifold forms of Viṣṇu is an indirect allusion to the avatāra concept. It has been suggested

that the inscription was set up in front of a Vishṇu temple in Banavāsi probably dedicated to Narasiṃha form.⁶⁵

In the Hebbāṭa grant of Viṣṇuvarma⁶⁶ of the Triparvata line, an invocation to Viṣṇu is contained as follows :

"The world is conquered by that worshipful Viṣṇu in whose breast goddess Śrī herself shines and (in whose) lotus of navel (shines) the God Pitāmaha".

The concept of Lakshmi residing in Viṣṇu's chest is clearly indicated by this invocation. There is also a reference to him as the God having Brahmā seated on the lotus issuing from his navel. This is the Padmanābha or Anantaśayana form of Viṣṇu.

Another record of the same king which is considered spurious, invokes the trinity Hara, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā.⁶⁷ Names of persons with Vaishṇavite characteristics such as Gōvindasvāmi are not wanting in the Kadamba records.⁶⁸ In a record of Kṛishṇavarma II from Banahallī,⁶⁹ an invocation to Viṣṇu as Hari is as follows :

"Be that Hari victorious who is the destroyer of the rising might and power of the king of demons and who is the weilder of the illusion of the maintenance, destruction and creation of the universe".

The reference here seems to be either to Narasimha or Vamana-Trivikrama form of Vishṇu.

In the records of Harivarma,⁷⁰ we come across Brāhmaṇa donees, who bore names like Vaikuṇṭhaśarma, Vishṇuśarma, etc. One of the Kadamba kings was named Dāmōdara.⁷¹

With the advent of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Banavāsi region soon passed into the hands of the new rulers. The Chālukyas were great devotees of Vishṇu as indicated by the title Parama-bhāgavata. They remained so until the end of Pulikēśi II. They erected numerous monuments including two cave-temples dedicated to Vishṇu in their capital. However, the status of Vaishṇavism in Banavāsi region cannot be assessed, as evidence is lacking. It is possible that the Madhukēśvara temple was originally dedicated to Vishṇu and was perhaps erected by the Ālupa king who was in charge of Banavāsi Maṇḍala under Vijayāditya. A fine sculpture of Vishṇu which was undoubtedly meant for worship in the central shrine, is now preserved in the temple itself (Pl. XVII, 2). It has rather unique characteristics and stylistically may belong to c. 8th century. It is not impossible that this may be the original icon enshrined in the garbhagriha. There is one more fragmentary sculpture in the typically early phase of the Chālukya style, depicting the head of a male deity, now preserved in the sculpture gallery

(Pl. XVII, 1). This may also be the head of Vishṇu image. Except these fragmentary evidences, there is no other direct evidence forthcoming from the region. We may note in this context that the Vishṇu sculpture in the Madhukēśvara temple reveals that the concept of Daśāvatāra was already known.

The Chālukyan inscriptions refer to the Varāha and Trivikrama forms of Vishṇu. Numerous names of Brāhmaṇa donees, with Vaishṇava inclination can also be found in their records. They include Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu, Gōpa, Kṛishṇa, Vāmana, Kēśava, Dāmōdara, Mādhava, Trivikrama, Hari, Gadādhara, Rāma, Janārdana, Upendra, Yajña, Gōvinda etc. The sculptural depictions, found in the Bādāmi region, also reveal the various forms of Vishṇu avatāras and stories related to Kṛishṇa's life.⁷²

As in the case of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, there is little to be said about the direct evidence pertaining to Vaishṇavism in the Banavāsi region under the Rāshtrakūṭas. It can only be surmised that Vaishṇavism progressed further during their period. One of the important features was the popularity of the Chatur-viṃśati forms of Vishṇu as conceived by Pāñcharātras. In the early part of the 10th century, there is a reference to the setting up of the image of God Kēśava by one Gōmabbe in Oṭṭūr (Shimoga District).⁷³

Between the 10th and the 14th centuries, when the

Banavāsī region was again in the hands of Kadambas as feudatory rulers of Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the progress of Vaishṇavism must have been considerable as elsewhere. In North Karnāṭaka numerous temples dedicated to one or the other forms of Viṣṇu were erected in this period. In Banavāsī proper, except a few fragmentary sculptures, no such evidence is forthcoming, but an idea of the development can be had from Balligāve in Shimoga District which is not far from Banavāsī. Here, a temple of Viṣṇu was erected in 1048 A.D., another of Kēśava in 1065 A.D., one more of Narasimha in 1072. In 1014, the images of Anantaśayana and Chaturviṃśati mūrtis were got made. In c. 1149 A.D. there is again a reference to God Nārāyaṇa.⁷⁴ These references go to show how popular Vaishṇavism had become in this region. There is a reference to Narasimha temple in Śirālī in the 13th century A.D.⁷⁵ Taking into consideration all these evidences coming from North Karnāṭaka, it may be stated that the Chaturviṃśati forms of Viṣṇu, the Sthānaka, asīna and Śāyāna forms as well as the Vibhavas or avatāras were popular concepts among the Vaishṇavas of the period. Bhakti played an important role and listening to the Harikīrtana was regarded as meritorious. Grants of various sorts in the form of lands, feeding arrangements, gardens, coins, incense, perpetual lamp etc. are frequently mentioned in the records of the period.⁷⁶ In short it had paved the way for the future Haridāsa movement which became characteristic of the Bhakti

school of Vaishnavas during the Vijayanagara period. It may passingly be mentioned here that a shrine dedicated to Venkaṭeśa belonging to Vijayanagara period is located near the Madhukēśvara temple complex at Banavāsi.

Language and Literature :

From the very early times literature has been patronised by kings in Karnāṭaka. It was not uncommon to have a reputed poet in the king's court. Samskṛita and Prākṛita were doubtless the earlier languages in which literature poured out and received the attention of the rulers. An early example of the literary inclination of the kings in Karnāṭaka is furnished by the Sātavāhana king Hāla to whom is attributed the Prākṛita collection of Gāthas titled Gāthā Saptasatī. Scholars have disputed the contemporaneity and the authorship of all the Gāthas contained in this work. The Gāthā Saptasatī may be in reality a compilation of the freely circulating gāthās among the people.⁷⁷

The very fact that all the inscriptions of pre-Kadamba period in Karnāṭaka are in Prākṛita sometimes displaying an influence of Samskṛita shows that this language enjoyed popularity among the ruling and the learned classes of the society. Even the donations given to the Brāhmaṇas and the performances of the Vedic sacrifices by the Brāhmaṇas are recorded in Prākṛita

language.⁷⁸ In Karnāṭaka it was not until the advent of the Kadambas that Saṃskṛita assumed the status of the official language. It pushed aside the Prākṛita language and asserted itself. This position was probably the outcome of the southern invasion of the great Gupta conqueror Samudragupta which took place about the middle of the 4th century. It will be of interest in this connection to note that the very first inscription of Kadamba Mayūravarma, discovered in Chandravallī in Chitradurga District, is in Saṃskṛita language.⁷⁹ All other epigraphs of the Kadambas followed suit in respect of the use of Saṃskṛita as the official language. It is not known if this was partially influenced by the fact that Mayūra hailed from a Brāhmana family which the Tālagunda record so eloquently describes.

The Introduction of Sa skṛita as the official language must have had its repercussions in the literary activity of the region. This is implied by the fact that even the records of non-Brahmanic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism were written in Sa skṛita language in spite of the fact that their canonical literature to a great extent was in Pālī or Ardhamāgadhī. Poetic geniuses must have thrived in the courts of the early Kadamba kings. There is a tradition that the great poet and dramatist Kālidāsa visited the court of Kuntala king as an emissary of the Guptas whereupon he wrote the work



Kuntaleśvaradautyam.⁸⁰ If there is any truth in this tradition, then it will have to be maintained that the Kuntala king was no other than a Kadamba king. In any case, evidence is not lacking in Kadamba inscriptions for the existence of great Samskr̥ita poets. Many of their records are excellent examples of poetic composition though the names of the composers are not known in all cases. Perhaps the best example of the Kadamba inscriptions in Kāvya style is the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma written by Kubja.⁸¹ A similar example of poetic quality can be discerned in the Guḍṇāpūr inscription of Ravivarma.⁸²

Compared to Samskr̥ita, the regional language of the people which must have been the language of the people at large was late in assuming enough importance in the ruling class. The earliest inscription in the Kannaḍa language is the Halmiḍi stone inscription.⁸³ This inscription begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu in Samskr̥ita and records the purport in Kannaḍa. Scholars have noted that already numerous Samskr̥ita words had entered into the usage and the style of this time, i.e., by about the middle of the fifth century.⁸⁴ This only goes to show that Kannaḍa was the language of the people from at least a few centuries before. Once the use of Kannaḍa was approved in the records of the rulers, it did not take long to assume importance as a language of the inscriptions,

particularly, those which were meant to be read and understood by the common people. Thus, already in the period of Ravivarma, we notice one more epigraph in Kannāḍa.⁸⁵ The Chālukyas who succeeded as the imperial authority to the throne of Karnāṭaka popularised it further.

With the shifting of the centre of political activity to Bādāmi in Bijapur District under the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the attention of poets seeking patronage must have also shifted to that region. The Chālukya monarchs, like their predecessors, were great patrons of literature. Although they preferred Samskr̥ita for their royal charters, they encouraged the setting up of Kannāḍa inscriptions whenever occasions arose. Great poets like Bhāravi and Kālidāsa were widely read in Karnāṭaka. This is clearly implied by the fact that the composer of the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangalēsa virtually imitated passages from Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa.⁸⁶ Likewise, poet Ravikīrti, the composer of Aihole praśasti of Pulikēśi II, expressly claimed that his poetical ability was in no way inferior to that of Kālidāsa or Bhāravi.⁸⁷ A daughter-in-law of Pulikēśi II, named Vijjikā or Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, was the author of a Samskr̥ita work titled Kaumudī Mahōtsava. Though this work has not come down to us in its entirety, a few passages quoted by critics like Kshēmēndra from this work are considered as

excellent pieces of composition.⁸⁸

The progress of Kannāḍa as a language of literary merit was also perpetuated under the Chālukyas. An excellent piece of Tripadī composition in Kannāḍa has survived at Bādāmi in Kappe Arabhaṭṭa's inscription.⁸⁹ The Ālupas, who held their sway over Banavāsī maṇḍala for quite some time as subordinates of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, also experimented with Kannāḍa as a language par excellence.⁹⁰ One of the inscriptions found in Udyāvāra in South Kanara District shows that its composers tried to exemplify some Saṁskṛita meters in Kannāḍa.⁹¹

The Rāshṭrakūṭas, who became the overlords of Karnāṭaka after the fall of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, continued the heritage of their predecessors. Most of their inscriptions found in Karnāṭaka including the Banavāsī maṇḍala are in Kannāḍa. In fact, king Nṛpatuṅga-Amōghavarsha was a poet of unusual abilities. He laid the pathway for Kannāḍa composers through his work Kavirāja-mārga which is the earliest surviving Kannāḍa work so far known. His love of the Kannāḍa land and, the Kannāḍa language is amply testified to in this work.⁹²

It was just before the rise of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa that masterly Kannāḍa literary works began to be produced, particularly by Jaina poets. Among the ever remembered poets of this period, mention should be made of Pampa who is rightly described as Ādikavi in Kannāḍa.

His graphic description of the Banavāsi country is an oft-quoted one. This shows that he had visited Banavāsi country and had been enamoured of the natural beauty of that land. He had been so much attracted by Banavāsi country that he says he would love to be born in that country either as a honey-bee or as a cuckoo.⁹³ His Vikramārjuna-vijayam, composed in praise of his patron Arikēsari of Vēmulaṣṭa, contains the above allusions to Banavāsi country. It can only be imagined how many more poets of the Banavāsi country might have derived inspiration from the arresting beauty of that evergreen land.

Numerous inscriptions which are of considerable poetic merit are encountered in the Banavāsi Maṇḍala, under the Kadambas as the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. But only a few inscriptions give the names of their composers. In an epigraph of 1068 A.D. belonging to Lakshma, the governor of Banavāsi, a reference is stated that he had compiled a work Sukumāracharita. Śāntinātha was obviously a Jaina by faith. According to the inscriptions, his preceptor was Vardhamānayaṭi, his father Gōvindarāja, his elder brother Kamapārya and his younger brother Rēvaṇa. The last mentioned is described as the ornament of speech. Śāntinātha bore such titles as Danḍanāthapravara, Paramajinamatāmbhojinī, Rājahamṣa, Sarvātimukhamukura, Sahajakavi, Chaturakavi and Nissahāya Kavi.⁹⁴ Another poet whose name we come across in an

inscription dated 1070 is Nagavarmāchārya. He wrote Chandrachūdāmaṇi in Kannaḍa. He was the minister of peace and war to Udayāditya who was the governor of Banavāsi 12,000.⁹⁵ An inscription found in Shikāripur taluk of Shimoga District mentions a Nāgavarmāchārya who is probably the poet mentioned above. He was also probably the poet of Halsi inscription of Śivachitta.⁹⁶

The Kupaṭūru inscription of Kadamba Kīrtidēva reveals the name of another poet named Harivarma. He was probably a court poet of Kīrtidēva.⁹⁷ Another name found in the inscriptions of the period is that of poet Chandrarāja who was probably the author of Madanatilaka. He was patronised by Māchirāja the governor of Sāntalige under king Jayasīṃha of Kalyāṇa Chālukya dynasty.⁹⁸ He was probably a Brāhmaṇa poet. An inscription from Hāvēri mentions one Nārāyaṇadēva of Visvāmitra-gōtra. The inscription states that he was praised by other poets thereby indicating that he might have been a poet of some renown.⁹⁹

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C H A P T E R VI

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF BANAVASI



C H A P T E R V I

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF BANAVĀSĪ

The art-ethos of the larger Indian culture has been in its diversity, acceptance of other forms, and a spiritual and joyous response to life. This is evident in all the major ancient schools of Indian Art; the Mauryan, the Gāndhāra, the Mathurā, the Amarāvati and the Gupta which provided the same gallery to the works of the Buddhists, the Jainas, the Hindus, and the secular motifs. This open approach to art and life is the prime force, that culture and art lived here ^{with} a greater continuity and flourish.

When we come to Banavāsī, it had had the great advantage of living in close touch with the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas, the Vātapi Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the later Chālukyas, stretching over a period of more than 1,500 years. It is natural that their contacts generated local artistic responses similar to the overall Indian attitude towards art.

Though quantitatively the works of art available from Banavāsī is quite meagre, their variety, their style, and their approach to it, very well reflect the same ethos of Indian art. We have the Buddhist, the Jaina and the Hindu sculptures, figures of trees, birds and

animals, erotic figures and warriors, together depicting a spiritual humane world view, within this small canvas of Banavāsi.

As we have already seen, Banavāsi had been a significant politico-cultural centre or as a provincial capital, from the time of Aśoka Maurya. It was noted, for instance, that Aśoka sent a Buddhist monk, Rakkhita, to Banavāsi to propagate the teachings of the Master. The way in which the Buddhist chronicles speak of the numerous conversions in Banavāsi, would imply, even allowing for exaggerations, an impact of considerable magnitude on the local society in the religious sphere. It would have been natural that this new impact was transformed into corresponding art and architectural forms in abundance. At least from the time of the Sātavāhanas, this should have been the case. But unfortunately the scant relics so far discovered do not, for whatever reasons, quantitatively compare with those found in other contemporary Buddhist centres like Amarāvati (Andhra Pradesh) and Sannati (Gulbarga District, Karnataka). However, qualitatively they do indicate a maturity of a high order.

Perhaps the want of the basic raw material, the limestone, with which the Sātavāhana artists of lower Deccan were so much acquainted, first strikes out a possible reason for this lacuna. Because this region was thickly forested with many natural barriers, the

transportation of this material on a large-scale from elsewhere might have been rendered difficult. Hence this stone was not possibly used on a large scale. However, in meagre quantity it was imported here. For a few specimens of this limestone material such as the inscribed slab carrying the record of Vāsishtīputra Śivaśrī Puṣṭamāvi, the Nāga sculpture slab carrying the inscription of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātkaṛaṇi, etc., have come to light at Banavāsi. Modern Banavāsi stands on the ancient site and the architectural and art specimens embedded within are yet to be brought to light by large-scale operations by the archaeologist.

In this chapter an attempt is made to give an account of architectural and sculptural remains at Banavāsi under separate heads.

I. Architecture :

The Period of Sātavāhanas :

The constructions of the early period, which can be assigned the Sātavāhana period, comprise brick structures of familiar types. The burnt bricks used for the structures usually measure 43 x 22 x 7 cm., similar to bricks used in many other contemporary sites. The ravages of time have not saved complete structures. Fragmentary structures have been found both inside and outside the fort which seem to follow a rectangular plan.

But since they are not fully exposed, the details are yet to be known.¹

At the locality called Dōṇiguḍḍa, near the Varadā river, excavations were conducted by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Mysore University and the State Department of Archaeology in Karnataka jointly.² In this excavation, a brick structure was found. This structure had an apsidal plan (fig. 4). It had tripple line of walls with a narrow passage between each pair of walls. At the centre of the structure was a platform, 1.75 m high, possibly serving as an altar, for offering worship. The plan indicates that the front part of this structure possibly had a rectangular porch. The innermost part of the structure is axially divided into three chambers. Of these, the hind chamber is apsidal while the central and front chambers are rectangular. The continuity of the central outer wall could not be traced completely. The two narrow passages running along the apse of the structure were possibly intended to serve as circumambulatory paths (Pradakshināpatha). The plan of this structure recalls that of the famous Durgā temple at Aihole (Bijapur District), where, too, two circumambulatory paths are provided.³ The latter temple, however, is built of stone and is dated to C. 7th/8th century A.D.⁴ The religious affinity to the apsidal structure at Banavāsi could not, however, be ascertained. It would be too much of a guess to describe it as Buddhist,

because early Hindu temples also followed the apsidal plan as revealed in the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntūr District, Andhra Pradesh).

Within the fort at Banavāsi, to the right of the car street of the Madhukēśvara temple some structures were excavated behind the present residential area.⁵ They consisted of another apsidal temple. Built of large-sized burnt bricks (42 x 27 x 7 Cm), it was a double-walled structure. The outer wall was thicker (about 1.5 m.) than the inner one. The double-walls in between them provided for a circumambulatory passage (pradakṣhiṇā-patha). In the front part of this structure were rectangular chambers and in the apsidal hind part, a platform. A fragmentary stone head, supposed to represent Skanda, is reported from here. Stylistically the sculpture seems to belong to an early period and is very similar to the figure of Skanda excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa datable to the Ikshaku times (3rd century A.D.).⁶ It is therefore possible that the apsidal structure in question may have enshrined this Hindu divinity originally. It may be incidentally noted that the cult of Skanda-Kārttikēya enjoyed considerable popularity in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Period of the Chutus or the Ānandas :

After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, Banavāsi came

under the independent rule of Chuṭus or Ānandas. Their reign synchronised with that of the Ikshvākus of Nāgarjuna-konda with whom they had matrimonial ties. The relation between these two far off kingdoms was obviously cordial; kings and queens of Banavāsi participated in the consecration of temples and vihāras at the Ikshvāku capital. It is indeed unfortunate that no structure has come to light in Banavāsi that could definitely be ascribed to these rulers. The Nāga image inscription in the Madhukēśvara temple enclosure, belonging to the 12th regnal year of Viṇhukaḍa Chutukulānanda Sātakaraṇi states that a vihāra and a tank were caused to be erected.⁷ But it has not yet been possible to locate these structures.

The Period of the Kadambas :

In the succeeding period of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, so far as their architectural remains are considered, the picture still remains hazy. A couple of inscriptions of their period found in Banavāsi, however, do indicate that some temples were erected in the capital under the royal patronage.

The most important of these is the inscription of Mṛigēśavarma.⁸ It is inscribed on a stone pillar which apparently once stood in front of a temple. It begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu, which indicates that the temple, was perhaps dedicated to that deity. An image of

Narasimha installed in a shrine in the Madhukēśvara temple complex seems to be an imitation of an earlier image. It belongs to the Vijayanagara times. It is a two-armed image showing archaic iconographic features. On this ground, it has been suggested by some scholars that the original image of Narasimha, which served as a model to this Vijayanagara image, was enshrined in the Vishṇu temple belonging to the period of Mṛigēśavarma.⁹ In view of the fact that the early two-armed images of Narasimha (C. 4th-6th Cent. A.D.) are known from some other places like Kuppagaḍḍe, Halāśi, etc., this suggestion possibly holds good. However, the features of this temple cannot be known till the area is subjected to large-scale archaeological investigation.

Within a distance of about 5 Km. from Banavāsi is the village of Guḍṇāpur, where a huge mound indicating human occupation for considerable length of time is found. This yielded an inscribed pillar containing references to a Manmatha temple erected by king Ravivarma, his palace, its dancing hall and the apartments of the Royal Ladies. The relevant portion of the inscription reads like this (translation) : "By king, Ravi, this abode for Manmatha was built. To the right of this was the living place (palace) of the king, to the left of which were the dancing halls in front of the ladies apartments"¹⁰

Again, here too, it is the archaeologist that can throw further light on the detailed nature of these buildings.

There can be no doubt that many more temples of the Kadamba period existed here. The numerous lingas of early form, with somewhat an elliptical section at the upper part and a tapering rounded top, are sure indications of this fact. But nothing can be said about the nature of the temples that enshrined them.

Some scholars have suggested that the original portions of the Madhukēśvara temple might belong to the early Kadamba period. However, we feel that, for reasons explained elsewhere later, this temple should be ascribed to the time of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi.

The Period of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi and After :

The Madhukēśvara Temple Complex :

Of all the stone temples surviving in Banavāsi, today, undoubtedly the oldest is the Madhukēśvara temple. This temple has undergone numerous alterations from time to time. So much so that it may be more appropriately described as "a temple complex" with many smaller temples within its enclosure (Fig. 5).

The main temple (Pl. II), dedicated to God Śiva

under the name of Madhukēśvara, consists of an open pillared hall, a gūḍhamandapa (closed hall) and a garbhagriha (sanctum sanctorum) with a pradakshināpatha (circumambulatory path) around it, all arranged on an east-west axis. The temple faces East.

The garbhagriha enshrines a huge liṅga on a pīṭha with multiple mouldings, stylistically assignable to 11th-12th century A.D. There are four heavy monolithic pillars in the garbhagriha, all square in section and without any mouldings. They carry simple rounded corbel capitals which support the beams. Between the garbhagriha and its doorway an antechamber (antarāla) is present. This feature is also present in the Saṅgamēśvara (Vijayēśvara) (C. 615 A.D.), the Virūpāksha (Lōkēśvara) and Mallikārjuna (Trailōkēśvara) temples (C. 633-44 A.D.) at Paṭṭadakal. The doorway of the garbhagriha has plain śākhās while the architrave (uttarāṅga) carries the reliefs of śālā and kūṭa shrine motifs. They are decorated with simple chaitya kūḍus. There are two subshrines flanking the garbhagriha doorway which are later additions. The one on the left side shows features of about the 12th century A.D. (Pl. IX, 2).

The garbhagriha of the temple actually stands equidistant on south, west and north sides from the gūḍhamandapa so that a pradakshināpatha is formed around sanctum. Here one can distinguish the features of the

exterior of the garbhagriha. The plinth of the garbhagriha (Pl. VI, 1) has prominent mouldings consisting of jagati, kantha, tripaṭṭa kumuda, grīva, padma and kapōta elements from bottom upwards. On the three sides, viz., the south, west and north a prominent projection (offset, bhadra) is provided at the central part so that the garbhagriha has a triratha plan. The bhitti or the wall of the garbhagriha is plain except for the pair of half pillars standing over the ratha offset of the plinth. This feature of the wall has resulted in the formation of a dēvakōshṭha (god's niche) on the south, west and north side of the garbhagriha wall. Each of the dēvakōshṭhas is surmounted by a pediment of the śālā shrine type with a chaitya kūḍu. The horizontal median band between the śālā śikhara and the beam of the dēvakōshṭha has a series of projecting elephants. The frame of the dēvakōshṭha has plain śākhās except that on the north side. Running along the top line of the bhitti is a frieze of hamsas (swans) or parrots (?). The dēvakōshṭha in the northern wall of the garbhagriha is somewhat different from the remaining two (Pl. VI, 2). The frame of this kōshṭha has nāga śākhā and at the lower portion of either side of the frame, there is a small seated pot-bellied figure similar to the ones of Vātāpi Chālukya temples. These figures probably represent the personified nidhis, viz., padmanidhi and śāṅkhanidhi. The pediment of this dēvakōshṭha has the śikhara motif with a horizontal median band. At the top

centre is a prominent chaitya kūḍu while below is a śāla śikhara which has depictions of lions instead of kūḍus. None of the kōshthas now has a figure of divinity.

As stated above, the walls of the gūḍhamandapa run into a rectangular plan and enclose the garbhagriha. Corresponding to each of the dēvakōshthas of the garbhagriha, ventilation is provided through a grilled window in the gūḍhamandapa wall. Two more grilled windows (jālavātāyanas) are also provided in the gūḍhamandapa for letting light in the hall (Pls. X, 1; XI, 2; XII).

There are 12 free standing pillars in the gūḍhamandapa arranged in four rows. The central bay has a raised ceiling. The beams supporting the raised ceiling, almost like a clerestorey, at the central bay have chaityakūḍus, miniature shrine motifs, kūḍus with peeping heads, fabulous animals like makaras, yālīs, hamsas, etc. The roof is flat over the central bay, but slopes gently over the side aisles and the pradakshināpatha.

The pillars of the gūḍhamandapa are simple monoliths with a square section (ruchaka) (Pl. VII, 1). There are semicircular medallions on the pillars (Pl. VII, 2). Sometimes these are decorated with lotuses, festoon bands, kīrtimukhas, etc. at the upper and lower parts of the pillars. The capital resting over the pillar has mouldings and a median band. The mouldings look as if they

are imitations of wood work. It may be remarked here that the pillars, their decorations and capitals are comparable with those of the Jambulinga temple (699 A.D.) at Bādāmi and Lāḍkhān temple (of controversial date) at Aihole.¹¹

In the gūḍhamandapa, at the north-east and south-east are recently constructed niche/shrines enshrining the images of Viṣṇu (Pl. XVII, 2) and Kārtikēya (Pl. XVIII, 1) respectively. Both seem to date from an early period, possibly later part of the Vātāpi Chālukya period. They are separately discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

The doorway of the gūḍhamandapa is apparently a later addition and probably belongs to C. 12th century A.D. This is indicated by the type of the architrave as well as the Gajalakshmi figure in the lalāṭa bīm̐ba. The original dvārapālas (of C. 12th century A.D.) are presently hidden behind the later Śaiva dvārapālas of the Vijayanagara times. To the left and right of the doorway are niches one on each side. Their pediments show that they have undergone alterations at a later period. The one on the left depicts a Nāgara Śikhara in the centre flanked by Drāviḍa śikhara on either side. Stylistically this may be assigned to C. 12th century A.D.

Except the alterations already mentioned and the resetting of the external wall of the gūḍhamandapa, first during C. 12th century and later during 17th-18th centuries (?) the garbhagriha and gūḍhamandapa of the

Madhukēśvara temple represent the two surviving members of the original temple. Drawing parallels from the Early Chālukyan temple specimens, with which comparisons were made above, the original temple would have had an open porch with four free standing pillars of the ruchaka (square) order.

The open pillared hall (maṇḍapa) is the most richly ornate part of the Madhukēśvara temple. Its central pillars are lathe-turned and polished with typical mouldings of C. 11th-12th century Kalyāṇa Chālukya temple pillars (Pl. VIII, 1). There are other types of pillars, such as faceted, fluted, etc., their total number being 48 (Pl. VIII, 2). The central part of the floor is slightly raised and the corresponding ceiling of the central bay is embellished with a lotus motif. The hall is entered from the east, south and north, but there are two more subsidiary entrances closer to the gūḍhamāṇḍapa wall, one from the south and the other facing it from the north. Entering from the main doorway, one first encounters a huge, beautifully carved Nandi, also of C. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXV, 1). An inscription in Kannada characters of circa 12th century, inscribed on a pillar base, mentions the embellishments carried out in the maṇḍapa.¹² Along the outline of the pillared maṇḍapa, kakshāsanās (back-rest seats) are provided (Pl. IV, 2).

The features of the exterior wall of the gūḍha-

mandapa show that they were first reset during C. 12th century and later probably during post-Vijayanagar period. Some of the bhadras (offsets) of the wall carry the pediments typical of 12th century while practically all over the wall are carved votive Nandi and Linga groups with label inscriptions mentioning their donors. The plinth of the gūḍhamandapa has the same features as that of the garbhagriha. The walls (Pl. X, 1) are relieved into bhadras formed by pairs of pilasters and recesses (salilāntaras), resulting in dēvakōshṭhas at the offsets (Pls. X, 2; XI, 1).

The śikhara (superstructure) of the Madhukēśvara temple is of tiered pyramidal type, nick-named by some scholars as Kadambanāgara.¹³ It consists of horizontal tiers each pair separated by a grīva (neck) arranged in such a way that the superstructure assumes a tapering pyramidal shape as it goes up (Pl. III). Twelve such tiers are discerned, the last one carrying a seated bull, the vāhana of Śiva, at its four corners. A cupola square on plan and a smaller circular element surmount this in that order, ultimately topped by a kalāśa. The eastern face of the superstructure is partially covered by a śukanāsa (Pl. III, 1) with an ornate kīrtimukha and a figure of Gaṇeśa at the front. On the śukanāsa is a seated Nandi. Above the śukanāsa, a small shrine motif carries a figure of Garuḍa. Below the śukanāsa is 7-hooded Śeṣha (serpent) whose body encircles the lower part of

the superstructure, its tail ending up near the hood. The remaining sides of the superstructure have nāsikas. Practically the whole of the superstructure is covered with stucco and white-wash of Vijayanagara and later periods, which makes it difficult to distinguish the original features of the superstructure. In any case the present form of the superstructure seems to have imitated the original one if not enclosed it. Already during the Vātāpi Chālukya period, temples with such superstructures are noticed, as for instance, in the Mallikārjuna temple at Aihole (C. 8th century A.D.).¹⁴ It becomes one of the most favoured superstructure types in the western part of Karnāṭaka, the home region of the Kadambas, right upto Vijayanagara period. In fact, it is for this reason that this superstructure type was nick-named Kadambanāgara. The medieval inscriptions of Karnataka refer to this type as Kaliṅga, probably because of its application to the Orissan temples. Perhaps it should be appropriate to describe this temple type as phāṃsana, mentioned in the canonical texts on Indian architecture.

The impact of this śikhara type on the temple architecture of Banavāsī was indeed great, to such an extent that all the surviving temples (e.g. Pl. V, 2) of the place including those of Vijayanagara period carry the same type of superstructure.

The exterior of the kakshāsana is decorated with

miniature figures arranged between pillar motifs. They are listed below, commencing from the area closer to the gūḍhamandapa wall on the norther side, in clockwise fashion.

North Side :

Nāgiṇis, Śaiva dvarapālas; Bhairava; a female deity (holding akṣhamālā, chakra, śaṅkha, gadā); Sūrya; a female deity (holding gadā, śaṅkha, chakra, kalāśa); Pārvatī (holding khadga, triśūla, damaru, pātra); Lakshmi (holding abhayahasta with akṣhamālā, chakra, śaṅkha, kalāśa); Gaṇēśa; standing saptamātrikas - Chāmūṇḍā, Indraṇī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Mahēśvarī, Brāhmī, Vīṇādhara Śiva; Śaiva dvarapāla; Kāma; Rati; Vishnu's forms - Janārdana (PCSG)*, Kēśava (PSCG); Āditya; Śiva (holding akṣhamālā, triśūla, damaru and phala); Ardha-nārīśvara; Pārvatī; Śiva; Viṣṇu as Janārdana (PCSG); Kirāta; Ēkādaśa Rudras.

Front (East) Side :

Rati, Kāma and Prīti interspersed by Kalāśa motifs; dvarapāla, dvarapāla, dancing lady; two drummers (Pl. IV, 2).

* P = padma; C = chakra; S = śaṅkha; G = gadā. Attributes in the hands of the deity in clockwise order from the lower right hand.



South Side :

Vishṇu's forms - Mādhava (GCSP); Trivikrama (PGCS), Mādhava (GCSP); Adhōkshaja (PGSC); Kēśava (PSCG), Adhōkshaja (PGSC); Hṛishīkēśa (GCPS), Varāha, Narasimha, Kirātas; Vishṇu as Kēśava (PSCG). From this point an original kakshāsana slab has been replaced by one of post-Vijayanagara period. It carries Nandi-and-līnga scheme running all along the slab. Thereafter the original slabs continue with following depictions : Dvārapāla; lady (holding lotuses); Dikpālas - Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛuti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubēra, Īśāna; Daksha; Dvādaśa Ādityas.

Almost about the same time during which extensive additions and renovations were made to the Madhukēśvara temple, two gateways, one in front (Pl. IV, 1) facing the east and the other on the north, were introduced in C. 12th century A.D. This is proved by two pieces of evidence. Firstly, the gateways and the open pillared hall match in style. Secondly, the axis of the eastern gateway (mahādvāra) corresponds exactly with the axial line of the main temple running east-west, while the axis of the north gateway corresponds exactly to axis running through the northern and southern entrances to the pillared mandapa.

The main gateway on the east (Pl. IV, 1) is a stone structure, square in plan. A flight of steps from the east leads up to this gateway. On either side, beautifully

sculpted elephants flank the stair-case (Pl. XXV, 1). Eight pillars in the front (four on either side) and eight in the rear (four on either side) support the beams and ceilings (Pl. IX, 1). All parts are beautifully and intricately carved.

The gateway on the north is now closed. Its plan is essentially the same as that of the eastern gateway. The outer half consists of a platform running on either side of the passage and there are indications that originally these served as kakshāsanas. There are sockets for fixing the back rest seat slabs which are now missing. The front row of pillars are fluted while the pillars of the second row are square in base, with ^hlate-turned shaft. Beams are decorated with rosettes. The doorway is flanked by lattice windows with rosette decoration. The architrave of the doorway has miniature shrine motifs, with sikhara of Kalinga type crowned by kalāśa. The central shrine motif is somewhat larger in dimension and flanked by lions, the lañchana of the Kadambas.

Chronology of the Madhukēśvara Temple :

The date of the original parts of the Madhukēśvara temple is still debated. Taking into account the tradition behind the temple, it seems to have a considerable antiquity. As in the cases of most of the temples of Aihole and Pattadakal and elsewhere, there possibly was

a preceding brick temple. Our discussion here, however, is confined to the existing stone structure.

The evidences for dating the temple are of two types : stylistic and epigraphical. For the earlier parts of the structure, essentially style has to be taken into consideration since direct evidences of other types are lacking. For later parts - additions and renovations, both stylistic and epigraphical evidences are helpful.

While describing the various parts of the temple earlier it was pointed out that there were some similarities with the early Chālukya temples of Bādāmi and other nearby regions. These may be listed as follows : (1) Use of red sandstone for the construction of the temple (only for original parts). (2) The presence of nāgaśākhā on the frame of the northern dēvakōshṭha of the garbhagriha. (3) Monolithic, square sectioned pillars in the garbhagriha and gūḍhamandapa. (4) Half-medallions as a decorative devise for the pillars. (5) The moulded capitals over the pillars in the gūḍhamandapa. (6) The mouldings of the plinths.

The use of red sandstone for the temple distinctly stands out in contrast to later additions, for which slate stone has been used. The red sandstone is not found in the region around Banavāsī, while it is abundantly available around Bādāmi. This provides the first clue for dating the temple. The presence of nāgaśākhā is the second

clue. It has been convincingly suggested that the tradition of depicting the nāgaśākha motif on the doorframes and the frames of dēvakōshthas of early Chālukya temples did not commence before C. 610 A.D. (i.e., the accession date of Pulakēśi II). Its first occurrence is noted in the Mālagitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi (C. 625 A.D.).¹⁵ Accordingly, the lower limit of the date of the Madhukēśvara temple may be fixed as C. 610 A.D. if not later. The monolithic square sectioned pillars provide the third clue. They are a common feature of the early Chālukya temples. Similarly, the half-medallion decorations and the capitals resting over the pillars also provide scope for a comparison. The capitals of pillars in the garbhagriha are of rounded type finding comparison, for instance, with those in the Mālagitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi. But the capitals of the pillars in the gūḍhamandapa have typical mouldings comparable to those of the Jambuliṅga temple at Bādāmi (699 A.D.) built during the time of Chālukya Vijayāditya and with those of the Lāḍ Khān temple at Aihole, whose date is controversial. But recently scholars seem to agree that the Lāḍ Khān temple as it exists today, may not be earlier than early 8th century.¹⁶ Hence, it is most likely that the temple of Madhukēśvara may belong to the period around 700 A.D. In this connection it is interesting to note that one of the records of Chālukya Vijayāditya refers to his visit to Banavāsi, a provincial capital under Ālupa king, son-in-law of

Vijayāditya.¹⁷ From this and other corroborating stylistic evidence, perhaps we may say that Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsī was possibly at the occasion of the inauguration of the Madhukēśvara temple. Therefore a date in the reign of Vijayāditya (697-733 A.D.) seems appropriate for the Madhukēśvara temple.

Regarding the additions to the temple made at a later period, both stylistical and epigraphical evidences are clear that the additions were done during C. 12th century A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain the original presiding deity of the temple. In any case the līṅga enshrined in the garbhagṛīha is not the original. An image of Viṣṇu, now placed in a subshrine in the gūḍhamandapa, seems to belong to the early Chālukya or Rāshtrakūṭa period. Some scholars have suggested that this may be the original presiding deity of the temple. In the collections of the museum there is a sculpture depicting the head of a male divinity, probably of Viṣṇu,¹⁸ which seems to belong to early Chālukya period. However, we cannot tell with total certainty about the original dedication of the temple. The present name of the deity Madhukēśvara and the local tradition connecting him with Viṣṇu, the slayer of demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, perhaps faintly suggests a Viṣṇavite dedication.

The Fort at Banavāsi :

Banavāsi must have been protected by a fortification wall from very early times, since it was one of the most ancient cities and administrative headquarters in northern Karnāṭaka. We cannot assume that the present remains of the fort wall at Banavāsi are of the original fort of that place. It may have come down to us in the renovated form because, right through its history, it has served as a capital area, as an administrative headquarter.

Recently, there has been an attempt to describe the Banavāsi fort.¹⁹ The study of the materials used in the construction of the fortification wall, has shown that, for want of the rock material the fort was built of mud-bricks, mud and laterite. The fort is situated on the left bank of the river Varadā, in an area where the river takes a sharp bend from the north-west to east. The river flows in a zigzag manner providing considerable protection on the southern side (Pl. I, 1). The interior of the fort measures 850 x 600 mts. and the total length of the surrounding fort wall is 2,140 mts. The western wing of the wall is greater in width and height than the remaining three wings. Along the exterior slope of the fort a moat is still extant at many points. The fort wall is about 30 mts. thick at the base and 10 mts. at the top. The moat is about 12 mts wide at the base and about 22 mts. at the ground level. Presently there

mud. In the third stage, probably during the later Kadamba period, the fort was further extended on the northern side and was constructed exclusively of laterite blocks.

II. Sculptures :

Very few works of art in plastic form have come down to us from the Banavāsi region. Most of them have been preserved in the Sculpture Gallery in the Madhukēśvara temple complex. The important specimens pertaining to our period of study are given below :

The Sātavāhana-Chūṭu Period :

1. An inscribed Nāga slab of the Chūṭu period. This consists of a coiled Nāga with five spread-out hoods. At the neck a band is tied with a prominent stone at the centre. The coils are arranged symmetrically into pairs, one below the other. The inscription is on either side of the frame which surrounds the Nāga sculpture. It belongs to the reign of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi. The material of the sculpture is schist (Pl. XIII, 1).

2. An inscribed pedestal of a standing image, probably of the Buddha or Bōdhisattva. Unfortunately the standing figure is totally lost except the feet. The

inscription is in similar characters as that of the Nāga inscription mentioned above. It mentions the person responsible for making the image as well as the person who sculpted it. Unlike that of the Nāga inscription, it has been chiselled out of sandstone (Pl. XIII, 2).

3. A beautiful female head made of sandstone. This represents the head of a woman, the remaining portion is missing. The image would have been of life size. The face, the eyes, the nose and the lips are very expressive. The hair is beautifully combed, and tied into a bun at the back. The bun carries beautifully carved chaitya facade decoration. It could be the earliest surviving specimen of plastic art in Banavāsī, and may date from 1st or 2nd century A.D. (Pl. XIV).

4. A male head. It is also carved out of sandstone, but is smaller in size. The features are akin to the early sculptures of 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

5. A Kubja Yaksha. This sculpture is small in size and comes from Guḍnāpur. It represents a standing Yaksha with pot belly and rather fleshy body. He is two-armed, but the attributes in the hands are worn out. The depiction of the eyes and the unique smile, are characteristic of the early Yakshas, dating from 3rd-4th centuries A.D. The ears carry kundālas. Other features are, unfortunately, worn out. (Pl. XV, 1).

The Kadamba Period :

6. Lajjā Gaurī. This is a small stone slab with the carved relief of Lajjā Gaurī. It depicts the Goddess in an awkward posture with exposed private parts. There are some ornaments at the belly. The breasts are not depicted clearly nor are the hands. The Lotus head is seen very feebly. The sculpture is in low relief. It may be placed about 4th or 5th century A.D. (Pl. XV, 2).

7. A small figure of a seated female deity. It is carved in limestone in round relief. The deity is seated on a low stool. The head and the hands are damaged. She wears a necklace and a hāra in Yajñōpavīta fashion. Armlets and anklets are also seen. The depiction recalls the sculptures of 3rd-4th centuries A.D. In the absence of any significant clue it is difficult to identify the deity (Pl. XVI, 1).

8. An image of a Tīrthaṅkara made of sandstone. The head and the legs are broken. The modelling is very smooth and it may belong to about 5th century A.D. (Pl. XVI, 2).

The Vātāpi Chālukya Period :

9. A head of a male deity probably of Vishnu (Pl. XVII, 1). It is made on blackish stone. The most outstanding feature is the rather long cylindrical kirīṭa

with exquisite decoration. The face has beautiful eyes, but nose and lips are damaged. The kirīṭa recalls the early Chālukyan feature, particularly the one of Trivikrama in cave-3 at Bādāmi. This sculpture, would perhaps have been more than lifesize, if complete. It may be placed in the 6th or 7th century A.D.

10. Vishṇu.²⁰ This image is kept in one of the niches of the Madhukēśvara temple and is worshipped as Ādimādhava. There can be hardly any doubt that it was meant for worship, as the main deity. The deity stands in samapāda posture with four arms. He wears a long kirīṭa, with decoration at the front. There is prabhāvalaya behind the head. In the ears are makarakuṇḍalas. There are also hāras, kēyūras, bhujabandhas, bangles, mēkhalā, vaijayanti and anklets. The right lower arm holds a phala and is placed on a ribbed gadā. The remaining two upper hands carry Chakra and Śaṅkha, while the lower left hand is placed at kaṭi. The deity is surrounded by ten miniature figures of which the first five are easily identified as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana. The remaining five are not distinguished by their attributes but should represent Paraśurāma, Dāśarathirāma, Balarāma, Kṛishṇa and Kalki. Thus these figures represent the Daśāvatāras of Vishṇu. Of more interest is the presence of three seated female divinities flanking the God, in the lower part. Vishṇu's feet are placed in what is apparently a lotus. To the right of this is the

flying Garuḍa with his hands folded in añjali mudrā. To the left of the lotus is a seated female who is two-armed. She holds phala and kalāśa. Possibly she represents Bhūdēvī, the Earth Goddess, a consort of Viṣṇu. To the right of Viṣṇu is rather awkwardly seated female divinity, holding a lotus in both her hands. She apparently represents Śrīdēvī, consort of Viṣṇu. To the left of Viṣṇu, is seated another Goddess who is also two-armed. She sits cross legged and holds a phala and a pustaka. She may be identified as Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning. The presence of Sarasvatī makes this image unique in so far as no other image of Viṣṇu has come to light in Karnāṭaka. It is only in the eastern part of India, namely Bihar and Bengal that the images of Viṣṇu with both Lakshmī and Sarasvatī, are found in good number. It is difficult to date the image precisely because of its odd features. However, it may belong to about 8th century A.D. (Pl. XVII, 2).

11. Kārttikēya. A broken image of Shaṇmukha is kept in one of the small shrines in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the Madhukēśvara temple. It depicts the God seated in ardha-paryāṅkāśana on the back of a peacock. The deity is three headed and attributes in his hands are not clear. The peacock bears a necklace. It may be dated to C. 7th-8th century A.D. (Pl. XVIII, 1).

The Later Chālukya Period :

12. Seated Jaina Tīrthankara from Guḍnāpur. This image in round relief, is carved on bluish black stone and is defaced. The Jina is seated on a platform in padmāsana with his hands in yōgamudrā. The sculpture is made in right proportions and may belong to about 11th century A.D. (Pl. XVIII, 2).

13. A mutilated image of Vishṇu. The hands, belly and legs are badly damaged. The deity stands in samapāda posture and is four-armed. The attributes in the hands are lost. However, the lower left hand seems to hold a mace, a part of which is visible. The person of the deity is decorated with various ornaments including kirīṭa mukuṭa, Makarakuṇḍalas, hāras yajñōpavīta, kēyūras, etc. However the body seems to be disproportionate. The lower half is rather too dwarf compared to the upper half. Two female deities, obviously Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī, flank the deity, one on each side. The image being smaller in size represents one of the 24 forms of Vishṇu, probably Kēśava. It seems to have served as a subsidiary image in a temple. The probable date is c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XIX, 1).

14. Śiva as Bhairava. The deity stands in dvibhaṅga in nude form but for a few ornaments. He does not have a kirīṭa, but his hair seems to be matted. Other ornaments on his person include chakrakuṇḍalas, kaṇṭhahāra, udara-

bandha, mēkhala, a hāra of skulls arranged in yaḥṇōpavīta fashion and a serpent tied at the thighs. The four hands respectively carry khadga, triśūla, ḍamaru, and pānapātra, the last of which is damaged. A dog is trying to reach the pānapātra. Below the dog, a couple of prētas are depicted. To the right of the God are a couple of devotees. At the top of the sculpture there is a kīrtimukha from whose mouth a pair of beaded festoons creep out to form a prabhāmaṇḍala of the deity. The sculpture belongs to c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XIX, 2).

15. A badly worn and mutilated image of Śiva as Bhairava. In this sculpture the matted hair of the deity is held together by a serpent. The deity wears the kuṇḍalas, hāras, kēyūras, bhujabandhas, udarabandha and a garland of skulls in yaḥṇōpavīta fashion. At the thighs a serpent is knotted. The four arms carry, the khadga, triśūla, ḍamaru and pānapātra, of which the last is missing. A dog is jumping to reach the pānapātra. To the left of the deity are a few prētas with a vessel in front of them. The deity wears sandals. The sculpture may be dated stylistically to c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XX, 1).

16. A sculpture of Gaṇēśa. Made of schist, the four-armed deity is seated on a lotus pedestal and is decorated with various simple ornaments. The four hands carry the bhagnadanta, paraśu, padma, and mōḍaka. The trunk holds a sweet ball. The sculpture is expressive of dynamism.

It is customary to have an image of Gaṇēśa and Mahishāsuramardini in the niches of a temple. This sculpture also probably served such a purpose. It may date from c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XX, 2).

17. Mahēśamūrti of Śiva. This three-headed deity sits on a padmapīṭha in padmāsana. He is decorated with various ornaments, such as hāras, kēyūras, udarabandhas, etc. The hair is matted and held together by snakehoods over each of the faces. The hands carry the attributes of akṣhamālā, ḍamaru, trīśūla and phala. The vāhana, namely the bull, is depicted in front of the pedestal. Mahēśamūrti is supposed to have four visible faces and a fifth invisible face of the God Śiva. The visible faces represent, Aghōra, Vāmadēva, Tatpuruṣa and Sadyōjāta, while the last invisible face represents Īśāna form of Śiva. The concept involves Śiva as Mahāyōgi. The specimen under consideration is excellently executed with all the delicacies of later Chālukya-Hoysala period. It may be placed in the 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXI, 1).

18. Dancing Chāmūṇḍā. This deity is four armed, perhaps in the samachatura pose. She carries the attributes of khadga, ḍamaru, the skull and pānapātra of which the last is totally damaged. Though her person is decorated with various ornaments, her emaciated body resembling skeleton is striking. She is flanked by a male prēta on her right and female prēta on her left. Like the Mahēśamūrti described above, this sculpture also bears

delicate features of the later Chālukya-Hoysala style of c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXI, 2).

19. Sarasvatī. It is probably unfinished. She is seated in padmāsana posture and only two of her hands have survived. She wears a karāṇḍa-mukūṭa, chakrakunḍalas, kaṇṭhahāra, stanahāras, and expanded long garlands of beads arranged in yajñōpavīta fashion. The two hands carry respectively akṣhamālā and pustaka. The lower right hand shows abhayamudrā gesture. If finished, this would have been an excellent example of the later Chālukya art in Banavāsi region of C. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXII, 1).

20. A bust of Tārābhagavatī.²¹ It is a rare specimen of the Buddhist art from Banavāsi region. The left shoulder and arms, the right arms and the breasts are damaged. The mukūṭa on her head carries the figure of the Buddha seated in yōgamudrā, thereby revealing her identity as a Buddhist Goddess. She also wears numerous ornaments such as kunḍalas, hāras, etc. The depiction of hair on her right shoulder and garland probably of pārijāta flowers is a significant feature. A complete example of Tārābhagavatī comes from Baḷligāve, with which the specimen under consideration is comparable. It may be dated in c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXII, 2).

21. A damaged sculpture of a seated Yaksha. It is probably of Jaina affiliation. The Yaksha is seated in ardhaparyāṅkāśana and is pot-bellied. He wears a karāṇḍa-

mukuta, kundalas, hāras, udarbandha, yajñōpavīta etc.

The right hand, partially damaged, is probably in abhaya-mudrā. The left portion is completely damaged. A creeper design can be seen on the right. Behind the mukuta small features resembling a hood of a serpent are seen. If this is correct then the image represents Dharaṇendra, the Yaksha of Pārśvanātha Tīrthāṅkara. It may belong to c. 12th century A.D.

22. A Fragment of a Jaina image. The image is that of a Tīrthāṅkara, but only his left hand and Yakshī portion have survived. The Yakshī is two-armed, wears a karandā-mukuta, kundalas etc. and is seated in pariyāṅkāsa. Her left hand is damaged, while the right seems to carry a flower. She is seated below a tree. To her right a person seated on a lion is depicted. To her left a small figure of a devotee or a child is depicted. In the absence of a proper lāñchana it is difficult to identify who exactly this Yakshī is. This may also belong to c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXIII, 1).

23. An image of Kāma and Rati from Guḍṇāpur. This is placed in the Vīrabhadra temple on the top of the Guḍṇāpur mound. Both are two-armed and stand in dvibhaṅga. Kāma carries an arrow in the right hand and Ikshuchāpa in the left. Rati carries a lotus in the right hand and phala in the left. The image is worn out, but the characters of the style suggest a 12th or 13th century date (Pl. XXIII, 2).

24. The bust of a female deity from Guḍnāpur. This is a large-sized image but unfortunately the hands with lower part are missing while the face itself is greatly worn out. She seems to wear an ornate karandamukuta, makarakundālas, and hāras. She seems to present ^{one} of the mātrikas. It may belong to about 11th or 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXIV, 1).

25. There are a few badly damaged sculptures of Jaina Tīrthankaras and Yakshīs in Guḍnāpur which have lost their details. But the group stylistically belongs to 12th or 13th century A.D.

26. A Kīrtimukha from Banavāsi. This is considerably damaged but the face of the lion and the latās issuing from its mouth to form the Chaitya motifs are discernible. It served probably as a mukha-paṭṭa for the śikhara of a shrine. At the centre traces of an obliterated icon can be seen. It belongs to c. 11th or 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXIV, 2).

27. The large-sized seated Nandi. Placed in pillared hall of the Madhukēśvara temple, it is one of the best examples of c. 12th century A.D. It is decorated on its forehead, its neck, and on its shoulders with various ornaments. A bell is strung at the neck. The slightly bent face of the bull looks as though it is watching with humble eyes the deity in the garbhagṛiha (Pl. XXV, 1).

28. Two beautiful elephants at the main entrance of the Madhukēśvara temple are excellent examples of artist's ability to express action in stone. Apart from the ornaments, the very finish of these sculptures suggests a 12th century date for them. They depict enraged elephants charging at the persons who are dwarfed by their very size in front of the elephants. (Pl. XXV, 2).

29. On one of the pillars of the Madhukēśvara temple is carved the portrait of a Śaiva ascetic with folded hands. The inscriptions above this sculpture in different scripts indicates the identity of this person as one Vibhūti Gaurayya. The significance of this sculpture in the religious context is pointed out elsewhere in this work. This sculpture may belong to c. 13th century A.D. (Pl. XXVI).

30. A few broken herostones are also preserved in the sculpture shed. One of them is better preserved and depicts three scenes one above the other. The lower depicts a hero attacking two soldiers one of whom is on the horseback. The identity of the hero is suggested by his size which is larger than the remaining persons. In the central panel the same hero is carried by two damsels by supporting him on their shoulders. In the top panel a linga and a devotee are represented; apparently the scenes depict respectively the fight of the hero and his death; his being carried to the world of the God by Apsaras and his enjoying the presence of the God in the heaven.

It may belong to c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XXVII).

31. A fragment of a herostone. In this slab, only the lower scene and a part of the central scene can be seen. In the lower scene is depicted the fighting hero at the centre. He is shown killing a soldier in a battle. Other soldiers are around him while two are mounted on horses. An umbrella is held over the hero. The surviving part of the central scene depicts the hero in a shrine flanked by a pair of dancers on either side. This sculpture may belong to c. 12th century A.D. (Pl. XVIII).



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1. Nagaraja Rao, M.S. (Ed.), Progress of Archaeology in Karnataka, pp. 27-28.
2. Ibid., p. 28.
3. Rajasekhara, S., Early Chalukya Art at Aihole, Illustration of plan between pp. 128 and 129.
4. Some early scholars have attributed this temple to fifth century A.D. for instance, Coomaraswamy, A.K., History of Indian and Indonesian Art. However, recent scholars are inclined to place it in Seventh-Eighth century A.D. For instance Rajasekhara, S., Op. cit., pp. 94-97.
5. Nagaraja Rao, M.S., Op. cit.; also Bhat, H.R.R., Karnataka : Śāsana, Kale (Kannada), pp. 116-125.
6. Sarma, I.K., Development of Śaiva Art and Architecture, pl.
7. EI., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 239 ff.
8. CKI., No. 14.
9. Padigar, S.V., The Cult of Vishnu in Karnataka (Thesis, Karnataka University, Dharwad), p. 116.
10. CKI., No. 23.
11. For a discussion on these temples see Rajasekhara, S., Op. cit., pp. 75 ff.

12. SII., Vol. ~~XX~~
13. This term has been used by scholars like Soundara Rajan (e.g., The Personality of Indian Temples) but recently Dhaky, M.A., has demonstrated that the term phāmsanā mentioned in Indian canonical texts on architecture suits this temple ^{or} ~~from~~. See Indian temple forms in Karnāta Inscriptions.
14. Rajasekhara, S., op. cit., pp. 126-127.
15. Padigar, S.V., "Epigraphy and Some aspects of the Early Chalukyan Art", Journal of Karnatak University, Social Sciences, Vol. XXII (1986), pp. 74-78.
16. Rajasekhara, S., Op. cit., pp. 75 ff.
17. EI., Vol. XXXII, pp. 317-24 (Shiggaon Plates of Vijayāditya, 707 A.D.).
18. Please see Sculpture No. 9 described below.
19. Joshi, S.K., Defence Architecture in Early Karnataka, pp. 40-47.
20. This sculpture has been discussed by Padigar, S.V., in The Cult of Vishnu in Karnataka.
21. This sculpture has been discussed by Bhat, H.R.R., "Tārābhagavatī images from Belligave and Banavasi", Journal of Karnatak University, Vol. XXII (1986).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION \$



C H A P T E R V I I

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters, an attempt has been made to bring out the details of the vicissitudes of Banavāsi in the history of Karnāṭaka. It is shown in the first chapter that Banavāsi has remained an important city and centre of culture for a longer time than has any other city in Karnāṭaka history. This situation seemingly arose from the fact that the place was strategically located in a thickly forested area surrounded by waters of the Varadā on three sides. Once it became an important city and was chosen as capital in early historical times, its prospects for continuity as a city of importance and a capital became well established. We have noted that at least as early as the time of Aśoka Maurya the Vanavāsa country with its capital obviously at Vanavāsi or Banavāsi, had drawn the attention of the political leaders of the times. With the decline of the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas assumed the reins of sovereignty and what happened at Banavāsi under their rule and thereafter has been dealt with in the second chapter. However, it is important to note here that the works dealing with the history of the dynasties ruling over the region have not concentrated or focussed on Banavāsi itself as the theme though ample scope for such a study existed. This becomes clear from the various types of source material

at our disposal. Having defined the role of geography and the plan of the work, the facets of history and culture of Banavāsi was discussed in different chapters under different heads.

As pointed out above, the second chapter attempts to delineate the political history of Banavāsi. Although little could be said about the period of the Nandas and the Mauryas, the understanding of the period after the fall of the Mauryas becomes clear on account of the availability of the source material, particularly the epigraphical. The story is more or less clear with the advent of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, though here and there, gaps do exist.

Apart from bringing together the various details of the history of Banavāsi, we have tried to discuss in detail certain problems relating to the rule of certain kings and chronology. For instance, we have tried to show that during Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's reign, the Vanavāsa kingdom was included in the Śātavāhana territory. The succession of kings of the Chūṭu-Ānanda dynasty as well as their chronology has also been considered at length. So far as the early Kadambas are concerned, their origin, chronology and genealogy have been discussed afresh. The achievements of each king have been dealt with in considerable detail. With the rise of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the fortunes of the Kadambas declined and the early Kadamba

rule came to an end, when Pulikēśi II gave it a crushing blow and dislodged the Kadambas from power. The Chālukyas had recognised that the continuation of the Kadambas would be a thorn in their flesh and therefore entrusted the Ālupas, their trusted feudatories with the administration of the Banavāsī maṇḍala.

In the reign of Kīrtivarma II the Ālupas under Āluvarasa II shifted their allegiance to the Pallavas, and thereby they were deprived of their sway over the Kadamba Maṇḍala. This coincided with the emergence of the Rāshtrakūṭas as a viable power. Under them the administrators of Banavāsī Maṇḍala were frequently changed in order not to allow them to become strong. During the closing years of Rāshtrakūṭa rule, Banavāsī once again saw itself under the second generation of the Kadambas, though as feudatories commencing with Chaṭṭayyadēva. This dynasty however had its headquarters at Hāṅgal and therefore, is known as the Kadambas of Hāṅgal. With the exception of the intermittent transfers during the early period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Kadamba kings of Hāṅgal were the masters of Vanavāsī Maṇḍala even until the period of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

The smooth functioning of the Government and the prosperity and well-being of the subjects depends to a great extent on the efficiency of the administrative machinery. Keeping this point in view, the development

of the administrative system was studied in Chapter III. The Study showed that the overall pattern of the administrative machinery remained more or less unaltered in the course of history and it was essentially based on the precepts laid down in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the Dharmaśāstras. Although the king remained the supreme head of the administrative machinery and there was a hierarchy of ministers and administrators, still considerable freedom was exercised at the lowest level, namely the village. While the Banavāsi region was directly under the Kadambas until their fall, with the rise of Chālukyas, the region was placed under the feudatories like the Ālupas, Gaṅgas or some individual officials till the rise of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal who became trusted feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, established the dynastic rule in this region, though as subordinates, even here, we may note that they were transferred now and then in order not to become a challenge to the Chālukya monarch.

In the fourth chapter a discussion on the various facets of the society of the region has been attempted. The social pattern was almost strictly in accordance with the prescription of the Smritis. The four fold classification of the society was an established feature. The Brāhmaṇas undoubtedly enjoyed a higher status in the society and being leaders in education played a dominant role in preserving the structure of the society. The

women of higher classes of the society enjoyed a considerably respectable position and there were poetesses and administrators. They were also behind the prosperity of the religious sects like Buddhism and Jainism.

Religion, language and literature form the theme of the fifth chapter. The examination of the evidences at our disposal has made it amply clear that various religious sects flourished in this region with considerable royal support. Before Aśoka sent Thera Rakkhita for establishing the religion of the Buddha in Vanavās kingdom, there must have existed other cults of folk religion such as the worship of the Nāgas etc. and undoubtedly these cults with their beliefs and rituals must have continued down to recent times, sometimes making an impact on the higher religious practices. However, but for their survival in the beliefs of the people to-day, little evidence of earlier times is available. The religion of the Buddha found considerable patronage in this region in the early phase. But after the accession of the Kadambas its prominence seems to have slowly diminished until only a few pockets remained here and there. On the other hand Jainism found considerable royal support under the Kadambas, particularly from the time of Śāntivarman. It retained its position through the early Chālukya and the Rāshtrakūṭa periods and was a dominant religion during the later Chālukya and the Yādava periods. Śaivism was a religion with deeper roots ^{with} the people at large. Its

antiquity in the region is not only proved by epigraphical evidences, but also by the occurrence of lingas of early times in Banavāsi, Ankōla, Tālagunda and elsewhere. Among the purāṇic religions, it was undoubtedly the most dominant. The evidence of the Kadamba inscriptions demonstrates that the Pāśupata Śaivas had already risen to prominence during that period. The followers of this religion were responsible for erection of several temples during the early Chālukya and post-Chālukya period. One of the later centres of Śaivism in the region was Baḷligāve where the Kālāmukhas were prominent. In the last part of the period studied here a seemingly important member of socio-religious reform movement namely Vibhūtigaurayya visited Banavāsi, probably as a part of his programme for awakening the people in the ideas of religious reformation. Vaishṇavism, which is also a religion of antiquity, influenced the region from quite early times. The references in the Sātavāhana records and later ones make this point clear. One of the kings of the Chūṭu-Ānanda dynasty participated in the erection of a temple of God Ashtabhujaśvāmī in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The Halmiḍi inscription of the time of Kākusthavarma and the Banavāsi pillar inscription of Mṛigesavarma as well as the inscriptions of Tripurvata branch of ^{the} Kadambas demonstrate the importance of Vaishṇavism in the region during the Kadamba period. The development of Vaishṇavism in the Banavāsi region was

in confirm⁰ity with the developments of that region elsewhere in Karnāṭaka.

The discussions on language and literature also form a part of this chapter. In the earlier period, Prākṛita was given a place of importance for royal records. From the Kadamba period we notice the regular use of Saṃskṛita as official language. The first occurrence of Kannaḍa in the inscriptions is in the Halmiḍi inscription of Kākusthavarma. This only goes to show that though Kannaḍa was already extant atleast from the time of the Sātavāhanas, its use in the royal circles particularly for recording grants was not favoured by the early rulers. In any case the thrust of the local language was too much to be ignored and from the time of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi it came to be used prominently.

The literary works of the poets have not come down to us in good numbers. For the early period a few examples of brief compositions are available in the form of inscriptions. The Tāḷagunda inscription of Kākusthavarma composed by poet Kubja and the Aihole praśasti of Pulikēśi II, composed by poet Ravikīrti are good examples of Saṃskṛita Kāvya compositions respectively of the Kadamba and the early Chālukya period. Attempts to compose works in the regional language must go back to a considerably early period because in about 8th century A.D. a small Kannaḍa inscription in tripadi composed by Kūppe Arabhaṭṭa is found at Bādāmi. The poet of Kavirājamārga

mentions that his work is in new Kannaḍa thereby indicating that in the literary circles, Kannaḍa had age-old traditions, some of the usages of which had already become transformed owing to gradual development. The Banavāsi region proved to be a great source of inspiration for nature-loving literateurs like Pampa, the author of Vikramārjuna-Vijaya. The inscriptions of 10th-14th centuries in the region amply demonstrate the poetic abilities of the people of the region.

For a place which has enjoyed a status of importance, that too as a capital, for over many centuries, one would expect rich contributions to the cultural heritage through visual art-remains. With this in view a separate study of the art heritage of Banavāsi is taken up and an account is provided in the sixth chapter. It is surprising that for an important phase of art history commencing from the Sātavāhanas to the end of the early Kadambas the wealth of the remains so far known is not very encouraging. Recently a few sculptures, one of them inscribed, were encountered in the bed of the river Varadā, owing to human activities. There is little doubt that these sandstone sculptures belong to an early phase of art history. The significance of this discovery is a clear pointer to the fact that Banavāsi's art and architectural wealth of the early period lies buried underground. The only solution to the problem is large-scale excavations of the magnitude of the world heritage sites such as

Hampi, Vikramaśilā etc. Only then can we hope to appreciate the early art of Banavāsi.

The recently discovered sculptures referred to above are only fragmentary but they speak volumes about the achievements of Banavāsi in the field of plastic art. The Nāga image of the Chūṭu age is perhaps closer to low relief sculptures of the style encountered at such sites as Sannati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa but the head of a female figure almost of life size is really a masterpiece of about the same period with hardly any parallels elsewhere. The miniature sculptures of the Yakshas etc. are also important indicators of the artistic achievements of the Banavāsi sculptural art.

In the field of the architecture we are as yet not aware of any original contribution from Banavāsi. The excavations have revealed apsidal or rectangular structures of bricks which compare favourably with the Sātavāhana structures encountered elsewhere. Here again only large-scale excavation can contribute to enlarge our knowledge. The picture of the art activity of the early Kadamba period is still bleak, although one would anticipate a large number of remains of that period. As in the case of earlier structures and art remains, possibly the remains of the Banavāsi Kadamba period may also have been buried underground. The inscription of Mṛigēśavarma at Banavāsi which is a master-piece of calligraphy

obviously indicates that the pillar on which it is inscribed once formed a member of a temple of Vishṇu. This pillar itself was found buried considerably deep in the ground. Another site also rich in Kadamba remains is Guḍṇāpur which is still awaiting the spade of the archaeologist.

The large-scale application of stone for architectural purposes in Banavāsi probably commenced only from the time of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi. After the Chālukyas wrested power from the Kadambas they placed the province under the Āḷupas. It would seem, as we have tried to demonstrate elsewhere that the original temple of Madhukēśvara in stone was erected under the patronage of the Āḷupas. Certain art motifs, pillar shapes, capitals, etc. as well as the use of sandstone blocks show clearly that the style is linked to the one found in the region around Bādāmi, the capital of the Chālukyas. Whether the śikhara of this temple represents the original śikhara is debatable but if it is original it is also an interesting point to note that it is very close to the early temples of Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh.

The period of the Rāshtrakūṭas witnessed frequent changes in the administration of Banavāsi country. As such we can't expect large scale art-activity in the absence of continuous patronage. The picture however changes with the advent of the feudatory Kadamba family of Chaṭṭayya. Large scale renovations and additions to

the Madhukēśvara temple were made under the patronage of this feudatory family. The varieties of pillars, the delicately carved sculptures, many of which are now found in the Sculpture Gallery, the beautiful entrance gateways on the east and north of the temple, are all excellent specimens of art of the period of the later Kadambas. That this healthy tradition was continued even in the post-Kadamba period under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings or their officers is testified to by the fact that a number of temples of various faiths particularly Śaiva were erected at Banavāsi during that period. Even the chiefs of Sōndā contributed to the art heritage of Banavāsi by contributing the excellently carved Trailōkamantapa, the stone cot, the images of Dikpālas etc. However, these remains of the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara period fall outside the purview of our study.

The resumé of the study presented above brings to the fore certain important things to be considered in the future course of research. The first thing is that large-scale excavations of the site should be taken up as early as possible to save the remains buried underground from human activity or natural destruction. It is only then that we can hope to make out a clear picture of the political and cultural aspects of early Banavāsi. Secondly, each of the topics dealt with in various chapters of this work may be further studied exhaustively so that a clearer picture and more minute details of the facets of Banavāsi cultural heritage can be brought to the fore in greater fullness.

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FIGURE 1

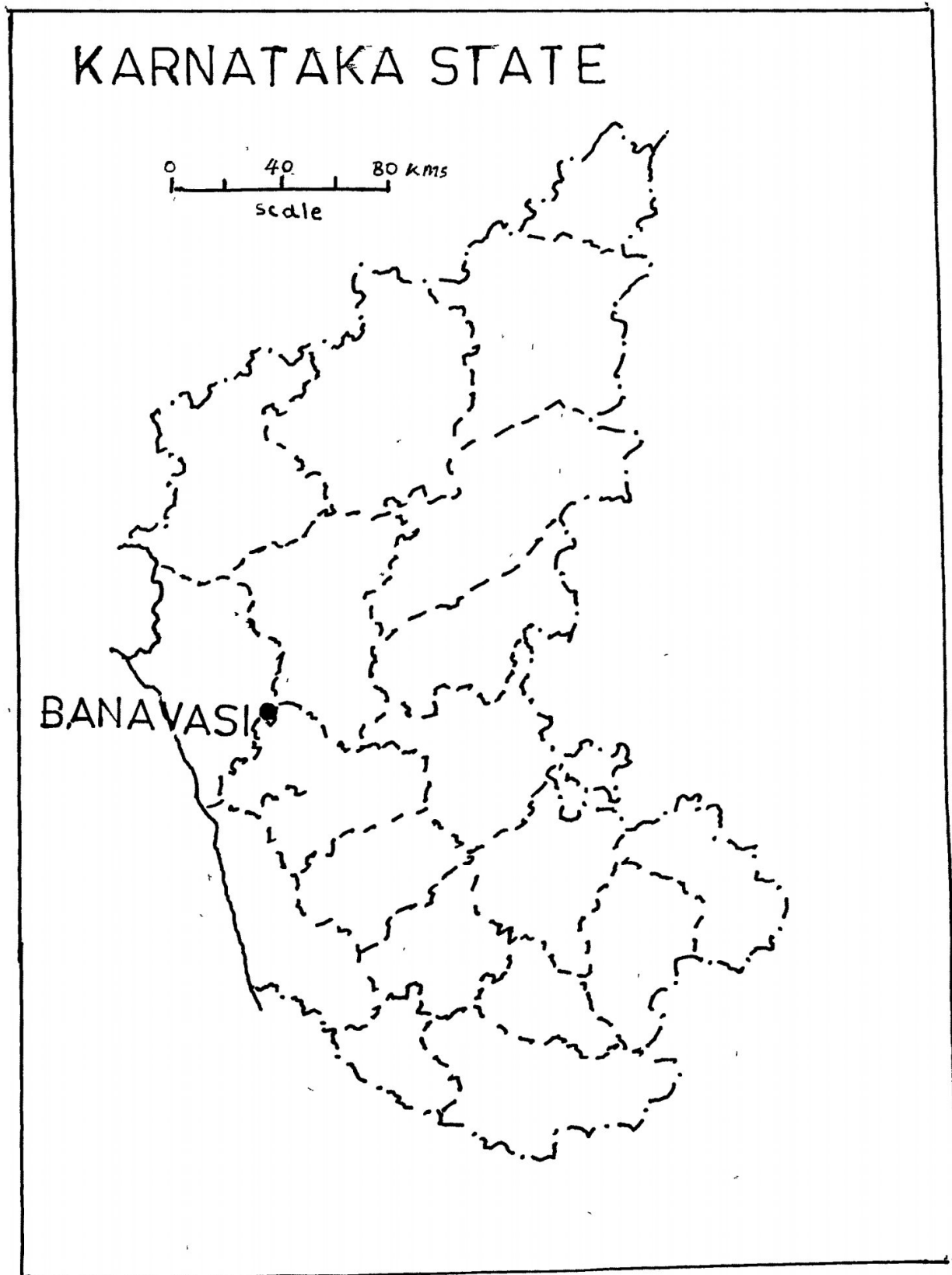
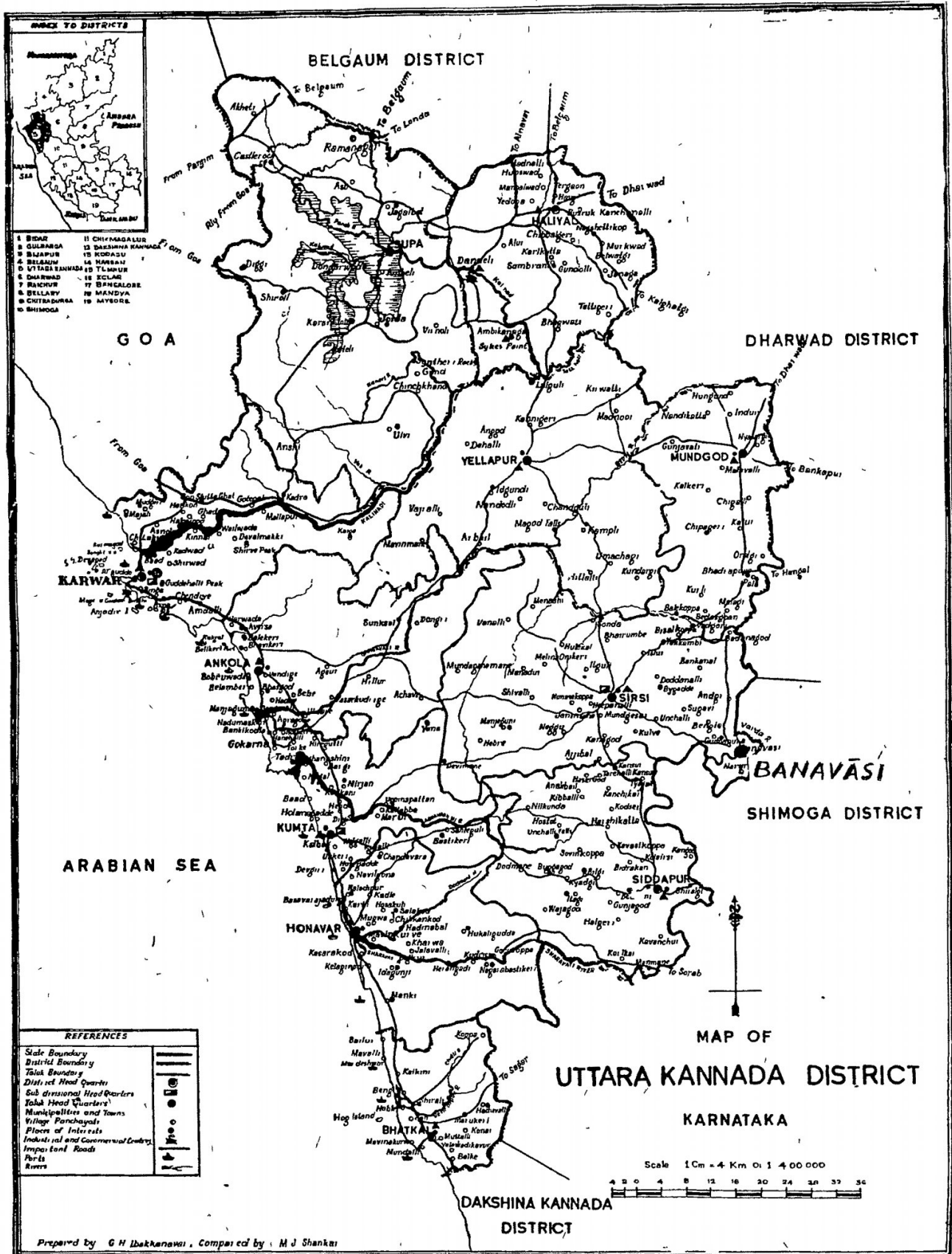


FIGURE 2.



An area of 36 sq km has been added to Supa taluk and the total area is 10,327 sq km

FIGURE 3

Plan of the Fort at Banavasi

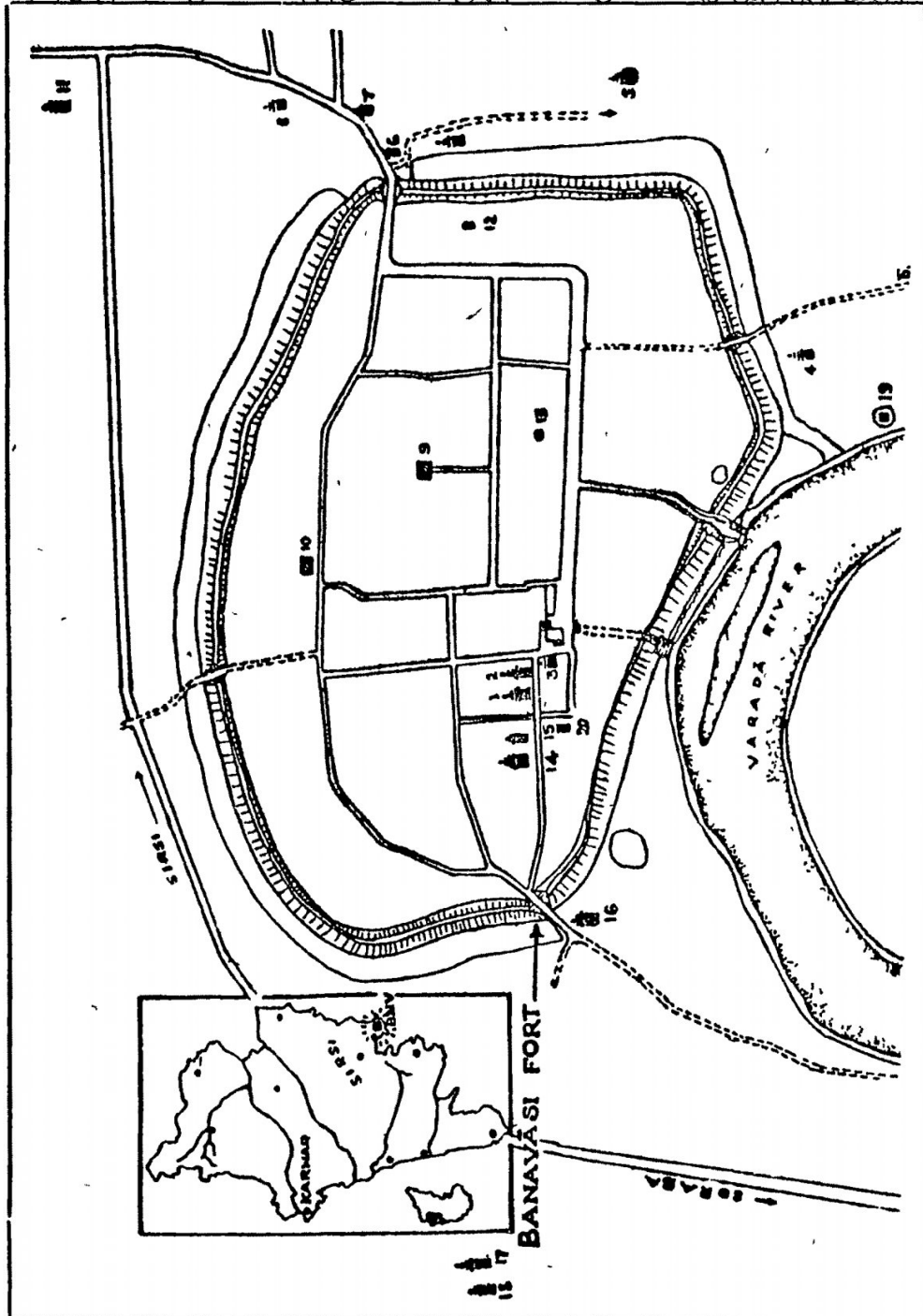


FIGURE 4

Plan of the excavated apsidal temple at Banavasi

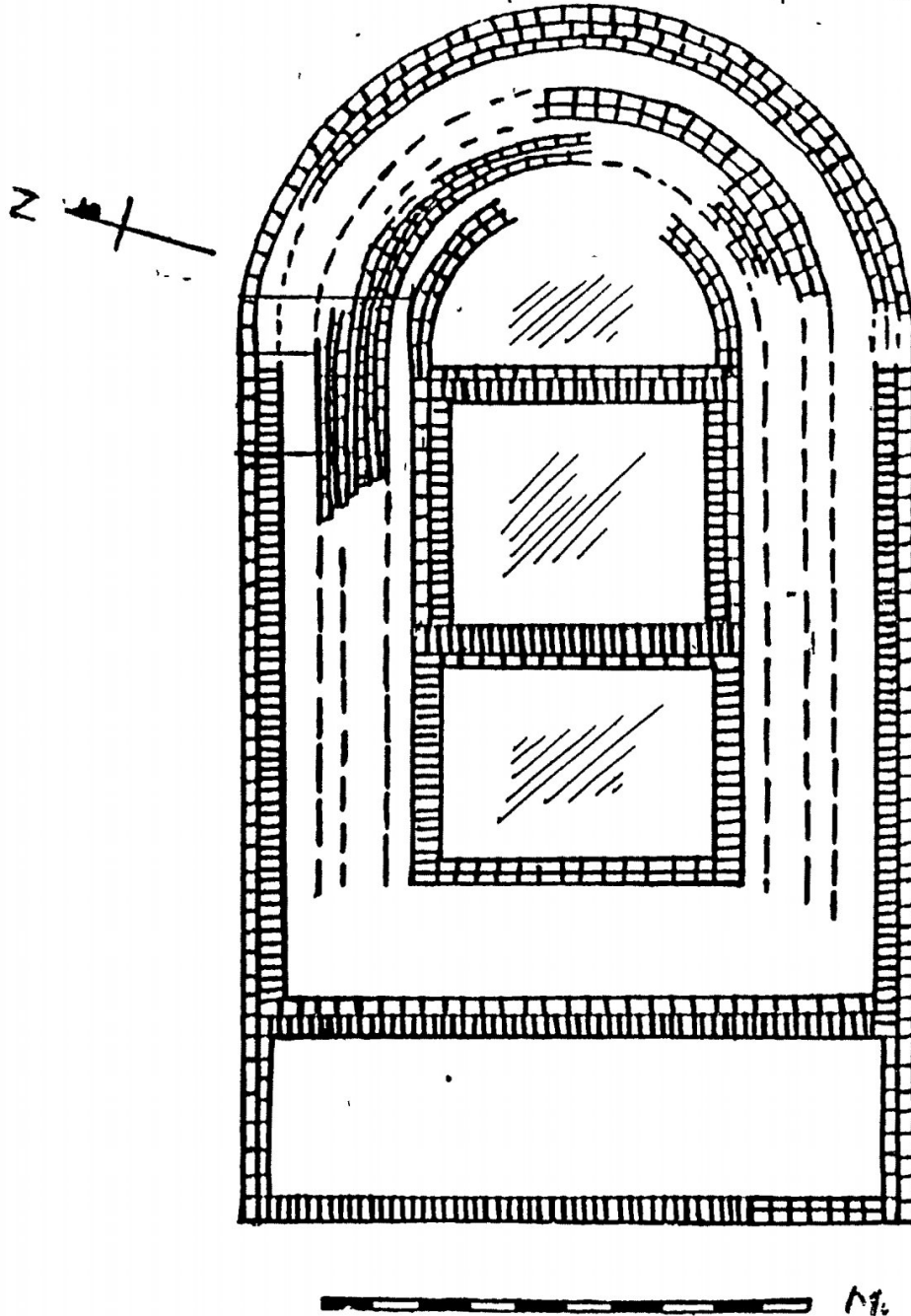
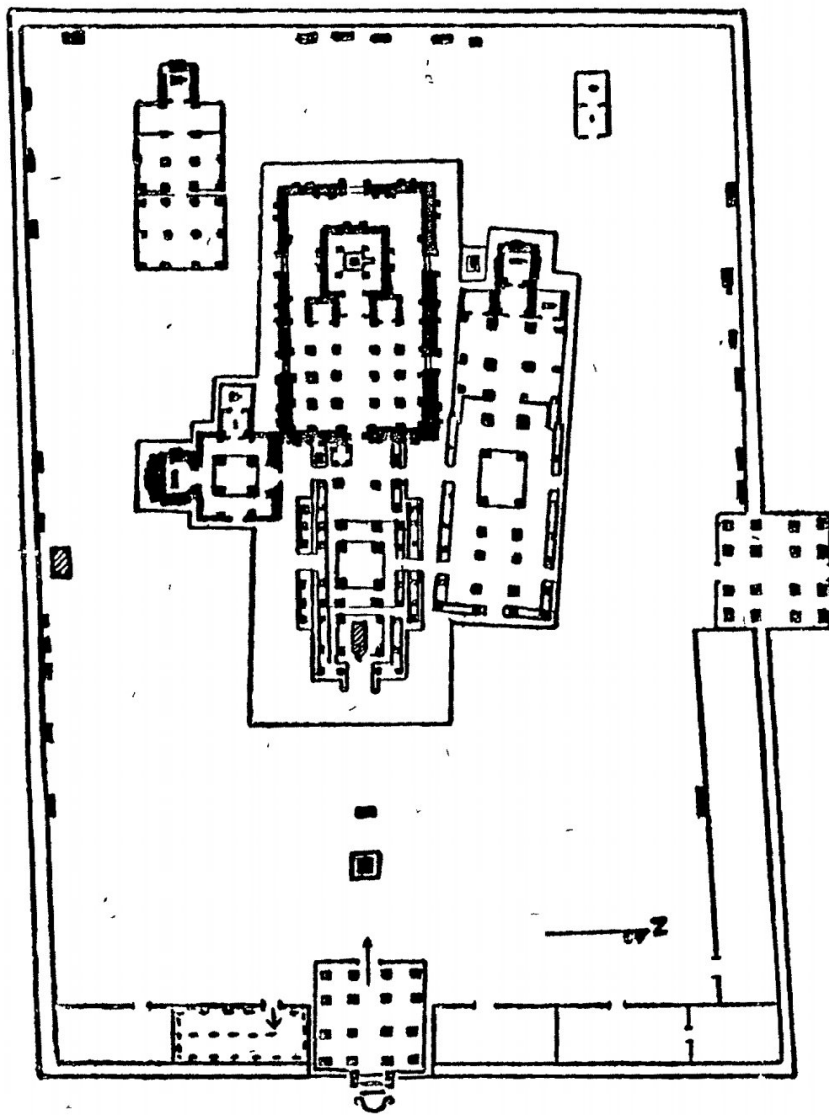


FIGURE 5.



Madhukeshvara temple complex
(not to scale)

P L A T E S





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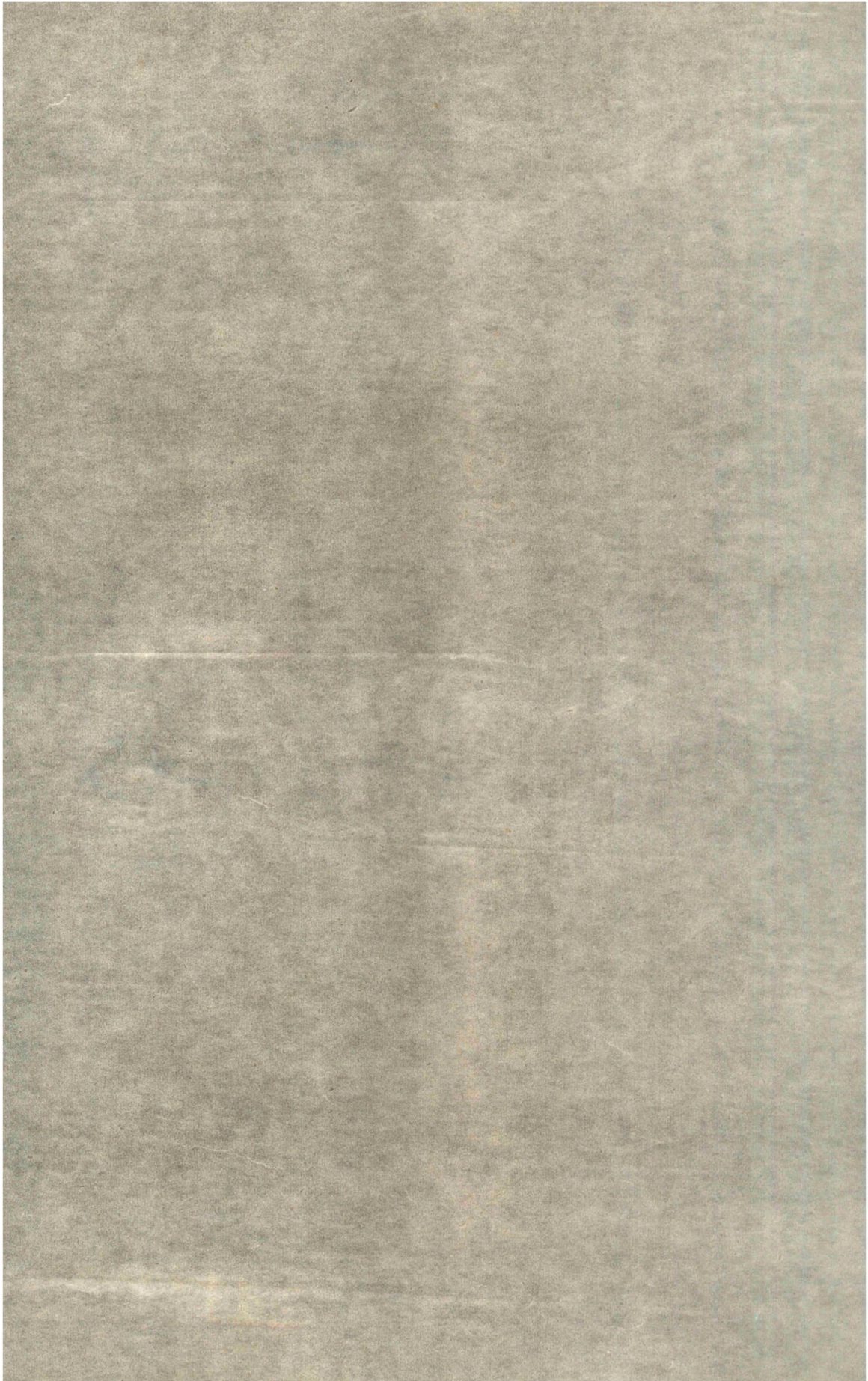


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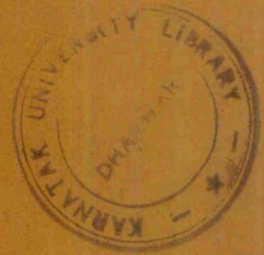
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GANESA

PLATE XXI



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PLATE XXII



1



9



PLATE XXIII



1.



2.

PLATE XXIV



1



2.

PLATE

XXV



1.



2.



PLATE

XXVII

